Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-96-008 *11 January 1996*

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UN Police Force Arrival in Bosnia Delayed

LD0801174296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Jan. 8 (TANJUG)—The 60,000-strong Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) for Bosnia will be in place much faster than the 1,712 United Nations civilian police, sources at the U.N. seat in Geneva said on Monday.

The sources said that the U.N. civilian police, set up by the U.N. Security Council a month ago, will be fully operational in the summer.

Currently in Bosnia there are only 110 U.N. police, while 150 more are expected to arrive next month.

Diplomats in Geneva said that the reason for the delay is the disinterest of the United Nations to deploy its personnel within this force.

The United Nations has invited 50 countries to contribute to its police force in Bosnia, but so far only 15 have responded in the affirmative.

Diplomats in Geneva warned that the setting up of the U.N. police force is one of the segments of the civilian section of the Dayton peace agreement whose realization is running late and could have negative effects on the entire peace process in Bosnia.

Deployment of Belgian Troops to Bosnia Delayed

LD0701185296 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 7 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Belgian Implementation Force battalion will be a few days late; it will be deployed on 20 January instead of on about 15 January.

There are two main reasons for this delay. The Greek ship transporting their equipment is two days late because of bad weather in the Bay of Biscay. Moreover, the Visoko confinement, where the 100 or so Belgian troops will be posted, is not ready to accomodate a large number of soldiers. The confinement, once occupied by Canadian UN troops, was literally plundered by its next occupants, Ukrainian troops.

Some 20 Belgian troops left for Bosnia this morning. They arrived in Split, Croatia, at midday.

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among other things, a meeting and talks with the leaders of the PSSh [Albanian Socialist Party].

But this was not the case. Albanian Television did not accompany Mr. Fassino on his meeting with the PSSh representatives, acting Chairman Servet Pellumbi and Deputy Chairman Ilir Meta. Why wasn't Television present at this meeting and why was the coverage of Fassino's visit and activities in Albania abandoned in midstream?

The fact is that, on Saturday, some newspapers, citing state sources, published a number of opinions and views which, according to them, Mr. Fassino had expressed at his meetings on the first day of his visit and which attacked the Socialist Party in a number of areas. Albanian Radio and Television began to broadcast these "accusations" early in the morning [on Saturday]. It seemed as if the intention was to sabotage the PSSh-Fassino meeting.

But the meeting took place. From the very beginning of his meeting with the PSSh leaders, Fassino categorically rejected the opinions and the views regarding the PSSh that had been put into his mouth.

It is clear that Albanian Television's absence from this meeting was not a chance happening but was for the specific purpose of avoiding coverage of Mr. Fassino's denial and, therefore, of hiding the truth. If what the newspapers wrote were true, Television would drop everything and go to film Fassino's "outburst" against the PSSh, in order to have this as an authentic document in support of the Democratic Party propaganda that "even the leftists in Italy do not like the Albanian socialists." Mr. Fassino's meeting with comrades S. Pellumbi and I. Meta took place in a warm, friendly, and very proper atmosphere. The Socialist Party prepared an announcement to this effect and submitted it for broadcasting on Albanian Television, in accordance with regulations.

However, the announcement was not broadcast. The justification for not broadcasting it at 4 PM was: "The announcement was locked up in the newsroom and was not given to the appropriate department." However, even after another copy was given to Albanian Television at 5:30 PM for broadcasting at 8 PM on 27 November, no announcement was broadcast.

Even though Albanian Television did not say a word about this meeting, the PSSh members found out about all of Mr. Fassino's positive opinions and views regarding the PPSh and about the optimistic messages of this meeting. Albanian Television did not report on this since it was not present at the meeting. Therefore, this meeting was censored completely.

This is not the first time this has happened. The tendency of Albanian Television censors to avoid reporting on the activities of the PSSh and, on the other side, the zeal and partisan passion of some TV journalists to attack the Socialist Party in a variety of forms have been turned into a hobby for these pseudodemocratic journalists.

These practices are in conflict with the status of TV and with democratic developments in Albania. Therefore, they should cease as soon as possible.

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NATO Interested in Country's Role in Bosnia

AU1001183296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The NATO command has initially shown strong interest in Bulgaria's participation in the mission of the multinational forces to implement the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Plamen Bonchev, an expert on NATO at the Foreign Ministry, made this statement at a news conference today. He added that official examination of a proposal from NATO is expected to take place at the political and expert level.

Ministry Urges Balkan Foreign Ministers Meeting

LD1001230896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2252 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—Bulgaria believes that there should be another conference of Balkan Foreign ministers, a spokesman for the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry said Wednesday.

Speaking at a regular news briefing in Sofia, the spokesman said that the time had come for convening a pan-Balkan ministerial conference on the lines of that held in October 1990, when Sofia was elected to host the next meeting.

Sofia is ready to organize such a gathering and may be expected to issue invitations, the spokesman said.

Such a conference would in fact continue the dialogue on Balkan cooperation opened by the foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Greece and Romania in the Greek town of Ioannina in 1995.

The foreign ministers of the Balkan states and of Hungary, Austria and Slovenia would be invited to attend, the spokesman said.

Outgoing U.S. Envoy's 'Serious' Efforts Noted

AU0901131696 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 96 p 7

[Commentary by Radka Petrova: "Ambassador Who Does Not Say Good-Bye"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today U.S. Ambassador William Montgomery departs Bulgaria, but remains in the Balkans. His new diplomatic post is at the most sensitive point of the peninsula—Bosnia.

Some two years ago, the diplomat, selected by one of the superpowers to represent it in Bulgaria, entered our country amid a scandal he created by publicly stating in Washington that the Bulgarian Constitution is wrong in not allowing the existence of ethnic parties. The ambassador was greeted with coldness and hostility as soon as he stepped on Bulgarian soil.

Now the high-ranking ambassador is leaving us decorated with the Stara Planina First Rank Order—the highest Bulgarian order.

This could hardly be described as a pure protocol gesture. It would be more precise to say that thus Bulgaria demonstrated its respect for the really serious diplomatic efforts the White House representative made in Sofia.

After his initial inadmissible intentions aimed at influencing the amendment of the Bulgarian Constitution, William Montgomery did not allow himself even once to interfere in our internal affairs.

However, he also did not forget even for a moment his country's strategic goals in the Balkans. This also is a part of the art called diplomacy.

During Ambassador Montgomery's stay in Sofia, the U.S. State Department publicly admitted that Bulgaria is a real zone of stability in the Balkans.

It again was during that period that the first U.S. diplomat in Bulgaria became convinced that every zone could become a second Bosnia, if the religious or ethnic makeup of a minority is elevated to the degree of a national characteristic. The White House is sending William Montgomery to Bosnia.

The ambassador is not saying good-bye to Bulgaria.

Government No-Confidence Motion Defeated

AU1001163296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1609 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear listeners, we have just relayed to you live the official announcement of the results of the secret ballot on the motion of no confidence in the government. The results were as follows: The total number of votes cast was 235; 130 voted against the motion, 105 supported it, and there were no invalid ballot papers.

'Illegal' PKK Activities, Countermoves Detailed

Bulgarians, Turks To Cooperate

AU0901133296 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 96 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Some 9,000 Kurds Live in Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to official data supplied by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, some 9,000

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Kurds from Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria are living in Bulgaria. They have a Cultural-Educational Society and a student organization officially registered in Bulgaria. There is no proof that these organizations are related to the PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan]. However, this does not mean that among their members there are no people who maintain relations with the PKK. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, our special services act each time there is an indication of an illegal activity related to the PKK.

During Nahit Mentese's May 1995 visit to Bulgaria, interior minister of Tansu Ciller's cabinet, it became clear that Kurdish terrorists are heading for Bulgaria. He conducted talks with our Ministry of Internal Affairs, in which he asked us to pay more attention to suspect Kurds, and to prosecute PKK members.

During the same visit, the Turkish minister said at a news conference that the PKK terrorists will transfer their bases to Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine.

Turkey's problem with the PKK is reflected in its relations with neighboring states.

The Ministries of Internal Affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey agreed to cooperate and exchange information on the activities of the PKK. The agreement was updated twice last year, to encompass the exchange of information on organized crime and on joint activities against international terrorism and drug trafficking.

Dozens of Turkish drug traffickers and dealers are imprisoned in Bulgaria. One half of them are Kurds.

Our Ministry of Internal Affairs guarantees that it will not allow bases for terrorist activity against Turkey to be organized on Bulgarian territory. Our neighbors also promise to do the same.

PKK Profits From Heroin Trade

AU0901122296 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 96 p 11

[Unattributed report: "PKK Earns DM500 Million a Year From Heroin Trade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a study of the German special services, the Kurdish Workers' Party [PKK] earns 500 million German marks per year from trade with heroin. For years, Interpol has been looking for the Kurd Ayser Mosuroglu, considered to be in control of the world drug traffic net, whose turnover is said to be several billions of dollars.

Official Turkish authorities maintain that the PKK has established almost total control over heroin smuggling through Turkey and the Balkans for Europe. The Kurdish partisans use the money they obtain from drug traffic to purchase arms.

According to the PKK's official version regarding the source of its finances for conducting combat activities for 10 years now, the party is financed by voluntary contributions from Kurdish workers and businessmen in Europe.

The PKK is the biggest organization within the Popular Front for the Liberation of Kurdistan [ERNK]. Abdullah Ocalan-Apo is the leader of the ERNK leader. He also is the PKK leader. The Kurds in West Europe have a parliament and government in exile.

Since 1984 the PKK has been conducting an armed struggle against the authorities in neighboring Turkey. Armed units are fighting against the Turkish Army in southeastern Anatolia, populated almost exclusively by Kurds.

The PKK wants to achieve national and cultural autonomy through armed struggle. However, establishing an independent Kurdish state is the organization's final goal.

The Kurds are also dispersed on the territories of Syria and Iraq. The Iraqi mountains are the rear of the Kurdish partisans who are fighting in Turkey.

Kurdish Leader on Drug Traffic

AU0901121396 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 96 p 11

[Interview with Yado Ros, representative of the National Liberation Front of Kurdistan in Bulgaria, by Emil Spakhiyski, in Sofia; date not given: "Yado Ros: The Kurdish Party Will Help You in Struggle Against Drugs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yado Ros was born on 1 March 1971 in Dersim, eastern Turkey. He has studied political science in England and the Netherlands. He is the representative of the National Liberation Front of Kurdistan [ERNK] in Sofia. The Kurdish Workers' Party [PKK] and the ERNK have a joint leadership. The ERNK unites intellectual businessmen. Its task is to conduct a political struggle and seek support for the Kurdish people through diplomatic means.

[Spakhiyski] Mr. Yado Ros [spelling of name as transliterated], recently, a lot has been said about the Kurds in Bulgaria. Is this related to your visit in Sofia?

[Ros] I have come to establish relations with the Bulgarian public, seek political support for our national-liberation movement, and establish a representation of

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the ERNK in Sofia, something we want to do throughout the world.

[Spakhiyski] What support do you expect in Bulgaria?

[Ros] You were under the Ottoman yoke for a hundred years. We are still under this yoke. It is an important fact that the Balkan states are still threatened by the Turkish expansionist policy. It suffices to recall the events in Cyprus. Those things unite us.

We want to explain to the simple Bulgarians why we are fighting. We prefer to speak to the people in the streets, because politicians are different. The state has its own interests, and perhaps some of them are related to Turkey. However, this does not mean that the people in the streets accept this. We also maintain relations with your parties. Thus, we will do the background preparation for the future ERNK representation in Sofia.

[Spakhiyski] In other words, you are already conducting political activity here?

[Ros] We have been doing this for years. Now we are intensifying our activity in order to create the relations we need. The ERNK is everywhere where there are Kurds.

[Spakhiyski] In the past, attacks have been conducted against Turkish diplomats and embassies in West Europe. Is there a danger of conducting such attacks in Bulgaria?

[Ros] I must clarify something, because you ask too much about us and Bulgaria: We are here in order to establish good mutual relations with the Bulgarian people. However, it would be more appropriate for you to ask me about Kurdistan, the Turkish Government's terror, and the murder of peaceful citizens, mothers, and children. The attacks abroad were provocations conducted by the Turkish secret services. If we establish our representation here, you too will be threatened by such provocations.

[Spakhiyski] But we, nevertheless, are in Sofia, right? Does the Kurdish community here support the PKK fighters with money?

[Ros] We need the financial support of our compatriots everywhere, not only in Bulgaria, if we want to conduct an independent policy.

[Spakhiyski] There is a belief that you are selling drugs in Bulgaria to get money for your cause.

[Ros] This is a total disinformation disseminated by the Turkish Government. I invite the journalists to investigate how the Turkish authorities disseminate drugs. The Turkish Government is involved in an absolutely overt manner in this dirty business, and it is no secret that the money obtained through this trade is laundered by Kubrus [name as transliterated] Bank, based in occupied Cyprus.

The PKK is a very strict organization, which struggles against the traffic in drugs.

To be even more convincing, I will tell you that a representative of Helmut Kohl approached our leader Abdullah Ocalan with the request to help Germany in its struggle against drugs. If your government approaches the PKK with the same request, we could conduct specific talks and begin cooperation in this area, in which we could help....

[Spakhiyski] What would you request in exchange?

[Ros] We want good relations and a correct attitude. The Kurds have great moral and economic support behind them. We can struggle alone, therefore, we need only a moral support.

[Spakhiyski] Do you not fear the Turkish secret services?

[Ros] There are probably Turkish agents in Bulgaria, and they are following us. However, this is within the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian authorities. If we have any relevant information, we will convey it to the Bulgarian services, because we are not police.

Kozloduy Metal Structure To Undergo Testing

AU1101101096 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 9 Jan 96 p 7

[Report by Vesela Vaneva: "Bulgaria Discusses With Europe Receipt of Free Electric Power in Exchange for Stopping Kozloduy's First Reactor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The EU First General Directorate will discuss in Brussels on 10 January the possibility of compensating for taking the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant first reactor off-line for additional tests by supplying free electric power to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian side will be represented by Konstantin Rusinov, chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, and Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee on Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy. Last October, the European Parliament adopted a resolution urging Bulgaria to stop its oldest 440-megawatt reactor for additional tests of its structure, and accept energy supply assistance from the West. At that time the National Electricity Company pointed out that the existing transborder grid could not support the import of a large quantity of electric power.

The testing of the first reactor structure will most likely be entrusted to the Russian Kurchatov Institute Scientific Center, Viktor Sidorenko, Russian deputy

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minister of atomic energy, told TRUD on 8 January. He is in Sofia for a one-day visit to coordinate the program of tests for the first reactor. Mr. Sidorenko also said that the MOKhT [expansion unknown] "Otzhig" Russian Enterprise will be responsible for testing the metal samples from the reactor's fourth seam. The U.S. company Westinghouse is the other candidate for taking samples from the reactor's structure.

Possible Resignations of Nachev, Chichibaba Seen

AU0801121296 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 5 Jan 96 pp 1-2

["Staff report": "Nachev, Chichibaba Ready To Sign Resignations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I will resign as soon as the Democratic Left parliamentary faction requests my resignation, Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev said on 4 January.

Nachev is implementing well his duties, and I do not think that he should resign, Nikolay Dobrev, chairman of the National Assembly Commission on National Security, said on 4 January. According to Dobrev, the problem does not lie in the structures led by the interior minister.

I will resign only if the prime minister requests my resignation, Agriculture Minister Chichibaba said on 4 January regarding the demand of the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] reformers in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The minister said that he will not succumb to other people's suggestions on this matter.

Transportation Minister Stamen Stamenov does not expect the Democratic Left parliamentary faction to deprive him of his post. His name was also mentioned in the speculations regarding an imminent cabinet reshuffle. Stamenov has been accused of inability to cope with his duties. According to him, the problems of the Balkan Air Company, a matter for which he was criticized by the BSP leadership, are not the result of a blunder on the part of Videnov's cabinet, but rather a result of the attitude of all cabinets since the establishment of the company.

The OSD demand for Chichibaba to resign is absolutely inappropriate, Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov said. He stressed that the cabinet has been formed by the parliamentary faction and not by the OSD. Industry Minister Kliment Vuchev could not remember whether ministers must be consulted prior to a no-confidence vote.

On 4 January, Minister Chichibaba promised to reform the system of managing agriculture and to fire incompetent officials. He said that he intends to use a satellite in order to determine how many decares will be planted with wheat in the spring. The state reserve of grain will be used only in case of extreme need.

Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev said that, in his New Year's message, President Zhelev criticized the judicial system, rather than him personally. The judicial system officials should arrest the "crime barons," the minister said.

The first cabinet meeting in 1996 was extremely short. The ministers discussed their future activity behind closed doors, but did not discuss a strategy in connection with the upcoming no-confidence vote.

Commentary on Ministers' 'Behavior'

AU0801121596 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Jan 96 p 16

[Commentary by Genka Markova: "Responsibility With Conditions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 4 January, two ministers stated again that they do not intend to resign despite the failures in their ministries. Minister Chichibaba continues to make clumsy attempts to wriggle out of the grain affair through verbal acrobatics. There is a problem, but not a crisis, he said, as if it makes any difference how one explains the deblocking of the state reserve. His colleague, Interior Minister Nachev, said, for his part, that he would resign only if the number of those dissatisfied with his performance in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] grows significantly.

The behavior of the two ministers does not differ at all from that of their predecessors. This fact will be inscribed in our history as the second sign of continuity in the performance of the Bulgarian cabinets. The first is the comprehensive incompetent administration of the country.

Chichibaba, Nachev, and other ministers who failed in their posts are hiding behind the prime minister's broad back. The story regarding the readiness of Deputy Prime Minister Tsochev to resign over the grain affair, carried by a Sofia daily, shows how much assistance Videnov is getting within the BSP to help him get rid of several ministers. However, it is obvious that the prime minister prefers to take all sins upon himself and thus preserve his team, which means—to preserve himself. In such a situation, the responsibility, defined in flexible terms of preconditions and various excuses, comes down to the personal honor of the individual ministers. The question is whether the prime minister does not overestimate himself by assuming all the responsibility, because the present situation will inevitably reflect on his position as party leader.

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NATO's Solana Says IFOR 'Defining Moment'

AU0501145396 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by NATO Secretary General Javier Solana: "The Alliance's Christmas Message"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels—A large part of the debate that preceded the deployment of the NATO-led international forces in Bosnia (IFOR) [Implementation Force] was focused on whether the situation there justifies putting young men and women from the alliance's states in harm's way. The reaction of the representatives of the 16 member states was clear on this point: We simply had to act in order to bring a definitive end to the worst conflict in Europe since World War II. An alternative solution would not only have condemned the Bosnian people to further suffering, but would also have evoked the danger of the conflict spreading and, maybe, would have confronted us with the necessity of intervening to a far greater extent in a real war. Because the NATO states on both sides of the Atlantic remember too well the price their people had to pay in 1914 and 1939 as a consequence of the blindness and mistakes of the West, they decided not to throw away the opportunity to end the war in the heart of Europe if it was within their power.

What received less attention in the debate on IFOR were the profound repercussions of this operation—the first deployment of the alliance's ground forces beyond the territory of its member states in its 46-year history—for NATO itself. For those who considered the organization to be a relic of the Cold War, the coalition of countries led by the supreme commander of the alliance's forces in Europe, General George A. Joulwan, must have come as a real surprise.

So far, apart from the alliance's 16 states, 16 NATO nonmembers have joined "Operation Joint Endeavor." They include a number of our former adversaries from Central and East Europe who now want to join NATO, neutral states such as Sweden and Finland, non-European countries such as Egypt and Pakistan, and, in particular, Russia. In addition, other states, such as Austria and Switzerland, have broken the tradition according to which cooperation with NATO was a taboo to facilitate the largest and most complex movement of units by land, sea, and air in Europe for the past 50 years.

It is clear that something is happening in today's Europe that transcends the situation in Bosnia. The desire of many states to contribute to this NATO-led operation reinforces the fact that the defining moment has arrived in the security order following the Cold War. It is not an opportunity that has come by chance. The alliance has been working—quietly, but intensely—throughout the past two years to prepare, with the assistance of its Partnership for Peace program, the new democracies for such a combined operation. Furthermore, it has strived to establish ties to the Russian Federation based on genuine cooperation. That is, in Bosnia we have an opportunity not only to end the war in the Balkans, but also to lay the foundations for a stable peaceful structure in the now undivided and democratic Europe.

I am aware that proclaiming lofty ideals is one thing and the fact that our units have to confront the harsh reality of the Balkans winter under difficult and dangerous conditions is something completely different. Throughout history, it has always been up to the solitary foot soldier to realize the visions of the leaders and politicians. Thanks to their ability to learn from the mistakes of the first half of this century, two generations of Europeans and Americans have not had to ask their sons and daughters to sacrifice themselves in another world war. They did not have to do this, and neither the current nor the future generations will have to do so, largely because the North Atlantic Alliance, which maintains the peace, exists. Now, when it is working undauntedly to meet the security challenges of the new Europe in the period following the end of the Cold War, our thoughts should turn to the young peacekeeping troops who have spent Christmas spreading faithfully among their fellowmen the hopeful message of this time of year.

Havel Interviewed on Current Issues

LD0701191096 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 7 Jan 96

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Eva Hulkova at Lany; date not given—recorded; from the "Conversations at Lany" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hulkova] [Passage omitted] Let's now talk about the trip you and Cardinal [Miroslav] Vlk made to Sarajevo [at the end of 1995]. Which aspects of this trip would you like to highlight?

[Havel] All aspects of this trip were unusual, special, and interesting. [passage omitted]

My main impression from Sarajevo was that, although the reconstruction of this absolutely devastated area would be a huge task, costing billions and lasting many years, a more important matter is something I would call a reconstruction of the soul and spirit of society. [passage omitted]

I believe that, by making this trip, I brought a small contribution to our involvement in the peaceful reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina in political, economic,

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cultural, and spiritual ways. This is our duty, I think, because traditional bonds link us to this country. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] Could we now perhaps talk about whether turning down the blueprint for the development of our Army, submitted by Minister Holan, is actually a tragedy for our Army?

[Havel] One could get the impression that our Army is lacking any concept whatsoever and that the quest for this concept is going on now. To say that we seek this concept now, that it is being submitted, returned, and submitted again, is absolute nonsense, of course. The Army has its concept that was approved by the government in 1993 and that is valid until the end of 1996.

This concept deals with the entire restructuring of the Army, with turning the divisional system into a system of brigades, and with the development of a rapid deployment brigade. The whole doctrine is different; it provides for a defensive army, not an offensive one. It is targeted at coping with a potential danger from all directions. It is not targeted toward one direction only. It is the Army that is adapting itself to NATO systems. Moreover, it has gained enormous prestige worldwide thanks to the missions in the Persian Gulf, the former Yugoslavia and now in IFOR [Implementation Force].

Our Army is highly prized, in particular, for the speed with which the restructuring of all of its functions has been carried out. Moreover, this restructuring took place during the demise of Czechoslovakia, while the process of dividing the Army was under way. All of this was included in the concept, as it were, and all of this is being successfully implemented. [passage omitted]

But the Defense Ministry and the Army have spent some time considering the long-term future of the Army.

[Hulkova] Excuse me, does this concern the next 10 years?

[Havel] This concerns roughly the period from 1997 until the year 2005. It is a long-term outlook. The Army has to have some vision of its own future in order to implement all modernization and restructuring measures. This is also linked to the currently pressing issues, which are the rearming of the Army, the modernization of certain armament systems—in particular, the command communication systems—and so on. All ofthese are tasks the Army has been aware of for some time and on which it has been working for some time.

I am quite pleased that the government and its ministers have begun to pay attention to this issue because it really concerns everyone. This matter does not concern just soldiers. After all, at issue is the country's defense and the defense of all citizens for a number of decades.

There is also an economic aspect of this issue. It is extremely expensive and so on. The fact that a prime minister's meeting recommends a minister to carry on working on the project means nothing. [passage omitted]

My understanding of this is that this is part and parcel of the process of drafting this long-term project outlining our Army's future.

What bothers me very much is that this has been turned into a political issue in a certain way and that it appears as if it were a conflict between two parties or something of that order. It should be a matter of a broad consensus of experts, soldiers, the ministry, the parliamentary security committee, and the government. And, in the end, the supreme commander should also be given a chance to comment on it, should he not?

This is a matter that should not be rushed; intensive work will have to be done on it. It will have to be thoroughly executed because, even though this is a demanding task, it is also a task of paramount importance, affecting future generations. It should not be a subject of games played by political parties.

[Hulkova] Because this is a matter that should not be rushed, could we slow down and let the next government sort it out?

[Havel] Whether this issue is sorted out by the present or next government is of absolutely secondary importance, I think. What is important is that the result is good. What is important is that it must be sorted out by the end of the year because it will concern the period starting in 1997.

There are, of course, a number of smaller issues on which a decision must be made as early as this year. It would be better, of course, if decisions on these issues were made on the basis of the already existing and approved long-term outlook. But it will be no tragedy if this does not happen. I think the most important thing is that the final product is good.

[Hulkova] Mr. President, the [Czech and Slovak] interior ministers this week signed an agreement providing a final definition of our state border with Slovakia. This has once again resurrected the problem of the U Sabotu settlement. I would like to know whether you, as head of state, can glance at what is going on in this small settlement and whether you have a view of this issue or possibly whether the issue can be seen in a more general context.

[Havel] [Passage omitted] I am thinking of the people involved in this issue. [passage omitted]

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Nobody will take their citizenship or their property away from them. It will be up to them to decide. The government has promised to give them financial support if they want to move elsewhere, to sell their house and buy another so that they could live in the Czech Republic.

However, I am not sure whether the entire course of action is legally correct. So far, everything indicates that this is the case, but, as you know, the matter has been passed to the Constitutional Court, which will deliver the final ruling.

But one thing may have been overlooked. Perhaps a prominent politician could have visited the settlement in order to meet those affected by this situation and explain to them all of the political and other circumstances and reach an agreement with them so that they would not be too surprised to see that their settlement suddenly belongs to another state. [passage omitted]

New Poll Shows Havel Most Trusted Politician

AU0901204196 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by "(jik)": "Ministers Strasky and Lux Are Gaining in Popularity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The popularity of the absolute majority of governing politicians was, in essence, the same at the end of last year as it was three months earlier. The only exceptions were Josef Lux, Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party chairman and agriculture minister, and Jan Strasky, Civic Democratic Party deputy chairman and health minister. During the course of one-quarter, Lux won over 14 percent of new supporters and Strasky won over 10 percent.

In the popularity rankings, which the Institute for Public Opinion Research [IVVM] compiles every three months on the basis of its own poll, Strasky is now in fifth place with 53 percent, while he had only 43 percent in September. His popularity rose dramatically after he left his post as transportation minister and replaced Ludek Rubas as health minister. Lux is now supported by 42 percent of the people, while only 28 percent supported him in September. Lux won over new supporters when his party began to promulgate a so-called social market economy publicly. From the list that IVVM gave respondents so that they could say whom they trust most, the majority—75 percent—chose President Vaclav Havel.

Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy finished in second place, with 67 percent, and Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec was third, with 55 percent. Jiri Dienstbier, chairman of the Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party, is still in the top 10, with 54 percent. He is followed by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus (52 percent), Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik (48 percent), Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda (39 percent), and social democratic leader Milos Zeman (38 percent). He is also the only politician who has lost support in the IVVM poll since last September—that is, 42 percent of the people had supported him.

With the exception of Petra Buzkova, who is in 11th place with 36 percent, a lack of trust has begun to prevail over trust for all of the politicians in the 11th to 20th spots. For example, Education Minister Ivan Pilip (31 percent trust him) is ranked here, followed by parliament chairman Milan Uhde (29 percent), Culture Minister Pavel Tigrid (28 percent), Interior Minister Jan Ruml (27 percent), and Economy Minister Karel Dyba (25 percent).

"If we compare the results of the polls from December 1994 and 1995 we see that the largest decline in trust has been recorded by Tigrid (17 percent), Kalvoda (13 percent), Pilip (12 percent), and Dlouhy, Dienstbier, and Dyba (9.0 percent each). Klaus has lost 7.0 percent of support and Zieleniec 4.0 percent," said Alice Glasova of IVVM.

Vladimir Budinsky, who has been in charge of the transportation department only since October, is the least known minister. In the poll, 46 percent of the respondents stated directly that they were hearing of him for the first time.

Klaus Rejects Holan's Draft Concept for Army

AU0801164696 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jan 96 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Ladislav Jakl; place and date not given: "It Is Impossible To Work in an Unamiable Fashion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jakl] Holan's draft concept for the Army encountered crushing criticism at the 2 January ministerial consultative meeting. How much does it have to be reworked to have a chance of being approved in the government?

[Klaus] First of all, the draft would have to be written seriously. This material requires a serious critical evaluation of the Czech Army's current phase of transformation. It is impossible to conceal the fact that a number of things have been successful but that a number have not been and a number have remained half-done. And, if we do not begin with a serious analysis, just as we analyze the economic, health care, education, or any other issue, we cannot get off the ground and continue further

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with a meaningful concept. Unfortunately, the material submitted by Minister Holan to my prime-ministerial consultative meeting did not meet any of these prerequisites and was therefore rejected.

[Jakl] The representatives of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party have declared that the conclusions from the economic ministers' meeting must not be overstated and that expressions such as rejection or nonapproval are intended to politicize the issue.

[Klaus] First, I would say that this was not a consultative meeting of the economic ministers. It was a specialized consultative meeting convened by the prime minister and attended by all of the deputy prime ministers and ministers involved in this matter. I do not know why the media have written about a consultative meeting of the economic ministers. It was simply a representative body, and its conclusions are, to this effect, quite legitimate. I have a sneaking feeling that, since the middle of last year, we have been battling with the Defense Ministry over a certain transparency, a revealing of cards, transferring decisionmaking on issues of a supradepartmental nature to the whole government, peeking into the kitchen. Three consultative meetings and three criticized materials in September, November, and at the beginning of January are indicative of something.

[Jakl] What do you say to the slightly unusual reaction by Holan's deputy, Necas, who complained that the minister had not consulted him on his concept?

[Klaus] I cannot imagine working in an organization where the chief would not want to cooperate intensively with his deputy for many hours per day. Such an institution cannot function, and, therefore, the Defense Ministry cannot be functioning well. This bothers me because I think it is impossible to work in such an unamiable fashion.

Havel Uneasy About 'Political Games'

AU0801183596 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Jan 96 p 1

[Article by "(gag, km)": "Havel Has Rejected Political Games Over the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Following his meeting yesterday with Defense Minister Vilem Holan (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) and Chief of General Staff Jiri Nekvasil, President Vaclav Havel expressed his concern that the preelection atmosphere is stigmatizing the plans for the Army's development over the next 10 years.

The president met with Holan after Prime Minister Klaus, at a consultative meeting of the ministers, had returned the Army's development plans to Holan for fundamental reworking. According to a senior government source, a debate on dismissing the defense minister has even begun in political circles.

"It would not be appropriate if such an important issue, one that concerns all the citizens of this country and its defense, were to become a plaything in the political games of the moment," said the president.

Nevertheless, Civic Democratic Alliance Chairman Jan Kalvoda has declared that the rejection of Holan's concept does not ensue only from the matter-of-fact debate on the submitted material, but also involves politics. A senior General Staff officer agrees with Kalvoda. According to him, Holan made a fateful error when he excluded Deputy Minister Petr Necas (Civic Democratic Party) and General Nekvasil from the final formulation of the document.

Army's Downsizing Stages Sketched

96CH0010C Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 15 Nov 95 p 2

[Article by "hak": "The Tightening of Military Belts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Klaus has decided to create order in the defense area. It would seem that the exchange of the first deputy minister of defense toward the end of September did not overly help in respect to the solution of the situation in the Army. By the middle of December, Minister Holan must submit a new concept for the development of the Army. The economics ministers have clearly lost patience and want to gain better insight into the Army budget and into the plans for investment and acquisition of equipment. Petr Necas, deputy minister of defense, considers it to be logical that, once the transformation of the Army has been concluded, the time has come for working out a new concept. This one is expected to be more realistic. In other words, in the future the Army should no longer be planning its development without figuring how much this would cost and whether it can afford to do so. It is beginning to be clear that troops will be able to train even less than has been the case thus far, that obviously even less equipment will be acquired than was originally planned. Minister Holan feels there is much promise in the introduction of double-entry bookkeeping in the Army. However, there is the question as to whether the funds that will float to the surface from the depths of the department will be sufficient. It is also not certain whether a further restriction in the number of training exercises and a restriction in the acquisition of new equipment might not be a threat to the process of Czech Republic enrollment in NATO.

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[Box, p 2]

Reduction in the Number of Troops in the Army of the Czech Republic

By 17 Jul 1992—106,101

By 1 Mar 1993—105,994

By 1 Jan 1994—92,893

By 1 Jan 1995—67,702

By 1 Jan 1996—65,000

Army, Diplomats Step Up Contact With Poland

96CH0010E Prague RESPEKT in Czech 8 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by Maciej Szymanowski and Petr Zidek: "The Hussites in the Baltic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent joint visit by the Czech ministers of foreign affairs and defense in Warsaw and the now hastily prepared trip by Vaclav Klaus have once more confirmed that the Czech Republic is changing its policy with respect to Poland in recent months. The information material dealing with the preceding July trip by Minister Holan to Poland notes that "collaboration with the Polish Army should be a priority position for the Army of the Czech Republic" and that "it is necessary to actually and consistently realize the agreed-upon forms of collaboration and to choose a more forthcoming and more flexible approach with respect to some initiatives put forward by the Polish side." After two years, during which Prague only dispatched a deputy minister of defense to Warsaw for demonstration purposes, who had no mandate to adopt any kind of binding decisions, this is, indeed, an unprecedented turnaround. The above-mentioned materials also note its cause: "The Polish Republic obviously will be the first country of the countries of Central and East Europe that will acquire membership in NATO." The entire shift in Czech foreign policy with respect to its northern neighbor is accompanied by a series of unclarities to which the foggy statements by politicians only contribute. The two largest Czech dailies, which had their reporters in Warsaw during the negotiations, interpreted the verbal juggling engaged in by Josef Zieleniec, who indicated that this was not a question of coordination, but only a "very tight informational tie," in precisely opposite ways. Whereas MLADA FRONTA DNES claims that "Warsaw and Prague will be jointly preparing for membership in the alliance," RUDE PRAVO headlines its article "Poland and the Czech Republic Into the European Union [EU] and NATO Independently."

Why is it that Czech diplomacy is only now paying attention to Poland when both countries were among those that were connecting their futures with NATO and the EU from the very beginning? Is this merely a question of the legendary Czech pragmatism? On closer scrutiny, it turns out that Poland, as well as the Czech Republic, is revising its notions on the possibilities and methods of how to achieve membership in the longed-for Atlantic and European structures—notions that have differed significantly over the years. Poland was always skeptical with respect to the possibility of rapid entry into West European structures and, because of that, strongly supported the idea that the group of the politically and economically strongest postcommunist countries should create an organization that would make it possible for them to be "visible" on the political map of Europe.

The functioning of this organization was also supposed to better facilitate and primarily more securely survive the period when this region is hanging in a vacuum between two strong political-military blocs—between the Commonwealth of Independent States and NATO. The Czechs always saw their integration chances as being better than those of the Poles. That is why the above-mentioned concept never gave rise to major enthusiasm in Prague, and at the moment the Czech Republic came into being was definitively rejected. A certain role was also played by the old notion on the part of the Czechs regarding the role of their country in Central Europe. Foreign policy as far back as the first Czechoslovak Republic had created the metaphor of an island. Whereas, during the first republic, Czechoslovakia was an island of democracy in a sea of "theocratic autocracy" (Masaryk), the present-day Czech Republic was presented by its representatives overly frequently as an island of stability and development in a sea of postcommunist chaos. Czech wariness with regard to Poland also resulted from old resentments regarding the period when Czechoslovakia competed with Poland by using nonfastidious means for a role as a certain integrational factor in Central Europe. That is why present-day efforts by Poland to create Central European integrational interim steps were considered in Bohemia to be a manifestation of dangerous megalomania. Czech diplomacy was rejecting, for example, participation in the turnaround that occurred in 1993 and in 1994 in the actions of Warsaw, which had as their goal a greater specification of the Partnership for Peace plan. Czech diplomacy behaved in a similar manner some months later in Brussels, when consideration was being given to a concept of a so-called interim step—in other words, of granting political membership to associated postcommunist countries in the EU while preserving existing economic relationships.

It was also because of the Czech attitudes that Warsaw, in the end, resorted to the concept of exclusively

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Sestak Notes Foreign Policy Progress in 1995

AU0901163696 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 8 Jan 96 p 5

[Interview with Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Slovak Foreign Ministry, by Lubomir Hudo; place and date not given: "We Conduct Ourselves on the International Scene as a Sovereign State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hudo] That part of the press that cannot find anything positive in Slovakia has described our foreign policy as not very successful because allegedly even if the state secretary has covered hundreds of thousands of kilometers and declared the government's interest in joining the European Union and NATO, the end result has been zero. How do you assess the results achieved by Slovak diplomacy in the past year?

[Sestak] Foreign policy certainly cannot be assessed by the optical impression of the number of kilometers covered. The first task of foreign policy is to secure a certain space on the international scene for the given state, which in our instance is a young and sovereign one. To secure space means to implement certain foreign policy goals and priorities. They include in our instance, among other things, the integration endeavors to join the EU and NATO as well as other European and transatlantic structures. I can say with full responsibility that, from the point of view of foreign policy results, it was a very dynamic year, during which significant steps were taken toward attaining the set goals. We made great progress in efforts to join the EU. The nature of our association with the EU has improved from a year ago. First, we became an associate member of the union on 1 February. Second, we declared our interest with an official membership application in June. Third, we adopted numerous specific measures that bring us closer to the EU. Regarding security structures, in relation to NATO—whether or not some critics are loath to admit it—it is a fact that we have been ranked among the most active countries in the assessment of the Partnership for Peace plan. In the past year, we made substantial progress toward NATO, a feat acknowledged even by the management of the alliance during our talks concerning the study on the expansion.

[Hudo] According to some domestic "experts"—ill-wishers—we have been allegedly dropped from the list of the EU membership hopefuls.

[Sestak] We have definitely not been eliminated from any list. One cannot speak about a list but, rather, about associated countries. There is no doubt that we are one of them. I have already responded to an invitation from Italy as the country chairing the EU this year with the intention to coordinate and harmonize our steps during the Italian chairmanship. Regarding the EU demarche of last year, which expressed a certain concern over the development on the domestic political scene, it must not be underestimated or trivialized, but, just the same, there is no need to dramatize it. The political opposition and those opposing the integration of the Slovak Republic into the EU claim that the demarche eliminates us from the union-membership hopefuls. It is not a qualified opinion. The government has dealt with the demarche and has not yet finished with it. It is a matter of a permanent dialogue. Nevertheless, it should not have come to the demarche because that cannot make up for the aforementioned dialogue. We have maintained intensive contacts with the EU at the expert level throughout the year. There was a dearth, however, of top-level contacts. If a dialogue took place on the highest level, I am certain that no demarche would have been sent. Every transformation country has problems, and they cannot be solved from outside. I do not have the slightest doubt that this year the Slovak Republic will unceasingly and consistently continue in the integration endeavors and in the search for a better and more effective form of dialogue with the EU and the individual member states so that no demarches will be sent.

[Hudo] In the context of the security issue, great emphasis is given to good-neighborly relations. Statements have emerged saying that, if we do not ratify the basic treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary, we can say good-bye to EU membership. Is that not a certain form of coercion?

[Sestak] The government demonstrated the political will and interest in good-neighborly relations with Hungary by signing the basic treaty. Despite the complexity of the problems, we managed to reach an agreement and sign a treaty that conforms to the national and state interests of both Slovakia and Hungary. Another thing altogether is the coming to a head of mutual relations within the context of the diplomatic anti-Slovak activity on the part of Budapest regarding our law on state language. Regarding the ratification, the process of voting on the approval was postponed. It is not a halt in the ratification process, and the government intends to use the time for a further discussion and defense of the basic treaty. I have no doubt that the treaty will be ratified.

[Hudo] Slovak foreign policy has been reproached by some domestic political entities for its orientation toward Russia. According to them, mutual cooperation has not only an economic but also a political dimension. Are these reproaches justified?

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[Sestak] It is not a matter of political orientation eastwards or toward Moscow. Our orientation is clear—toward the European and transatlantic political, economic, and security structures. Our good economic relations with the Russian Federation are well justified. Because of our unpremeditated steps in the past, we have lost the Ukrainian and Russian markets and the markets of other CIS states. They were rapidly taken over by West European, U.S., and Japanese firms. Our endeavors to retrieve at least a part of this market is legitimate. Russian crude oil and gas are of key importance to us not only as consumers but also as a transit country, which brings us great economic advantages. Thus, it would be nonsense to disturb these natural ties by politicking. It is necessary to maintain good relations with Russia, the focal point of which is economy and trade. The entire world is developing such relations with Russia. Why should anyone reproach us for this? The development of these relations cannot effect our orientation toward the EU and NATO.

[Hudo] The United States joined the EU demarche, and there is no shortage in the U.S. press, especially THE NEW YORK TIMES, of articles criticizing Slovakia and accusing the country of a dearth of democracy. You visited the United States last year and held talks with U.S. partners. How would you characterize the U.S. attitude toward the Slovak Republic?

[Sestak] The concern of the United States regarding the development in our country was a one-time step under certain circumstances, and there is no need to blow up or dramatize these circumstances. If we excelude this step, the official stand of the United States regarding the Slovak Republic is favorable and friendly. We have good contacts with the White House and Congress on several levels. We only miss a meeting between the U.S. President and our prime minister, and I am convinced that it will take place this year. Regarding the U.S. press, there is no need to generalize. There is, however, the problem of black and white formulations. It would be just as bad if everything written about the country were favorable or if we described every article as absolutely false. It must be observed that opinions are passed on in the sphere of the media and negative labels spread faster than favorable reports. Some people may be disturbed by our conduct on the international scene as a sovereign state. Sovereign decisions by a small state are not always liked by every large state.

[Hudo] THE NEW YORK TIMES reported that Slovak Government officials are not interested in briefing foreign journalists. What experience have you had with foreign media?

[Sestak] Just the opposite. The media, which constantly criticize everything in Slovakia, do not show any interest in meeting with our officials. The reporters of most dailies only want to meet the highest ranked officials. The contacts between the media and political and government officials should be on a broad scale both horizontally and vertically. I have never refused a foreign journalist, and a meeting with journalists is a part of each of my foreign trips.

[Hudo] Regarding our integration endeavors and the balanced relations between Russia and the United States, how do you feel about the idea of neutrality of Slovakia?

[Sestak] I do not consider the idea realistic, and in a way it is also politically inappropriate. Neutrality is not a matter of decision by a single state. First, it would have to be guaranteed and needed for some reasons. I have no idea why Slovakia should be neutral. If I deduced from the development in Europe and in the world that military political blocs were being formed, between which the Slovak Republic is squeezed like between two millstones, then in such a hypothetical instance—the blocs would agree on the need for a neutral place for mutual communication, or other reasons—neutrality might be a realistic proposition. After all, Europe is not developing toward two new blocs, but, rather, the sphere of security, trust, and friendship is being expanded. We want to be a part of this sphere because we belong there by our culture, civilization, orientation, transformation into the market and democratic society. We are interested in joining the community of states sharing the same moral values.

Clinton-Meciar Meeting Needed

AU0901150796 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Jan 96 p 12

[Report on interview with Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by an unidentified Bratislava NOVE SLOVO BEZ RESPEKTU reporter in the "Monitor" column; place and date of interview not given: "Is Bill Clinton Being Poorly Informed?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "How was it in the United States [during Sestak's and President Kovac's visit in October], when you requested that Bill Clinton receive Vladimir Meciar? Would our position change in any way if the two held talks?" NOVE SLOVO BEZ RESPEKTU [left-wing weekly] No. 1/1996 asked State Secretary Jozef Sestak.

[Sestak] I do not know what was meant by the claim that President Clinton did not hear me. He heard me very well. I addressed him twice, first at the conference table. It is not true that he did not react. I just did not

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individual efforts to gain membership in the EU and in NATO. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by last month, when Poland rejected the idea put forward by Bratislava and by Budapest regarding the creation of a new Visegrad triangle—this time without the Czech Republic. The turn toward Warsaw is a signal that even Czech foreign policy has begun looking more realistically at the possibilities for early integration into West European structures. Despite the most varied proclamations, it is not impossible that full membership in NATO will not be offered to any country in Central Europe and that integration into the EU will not occur until several decades have passed. This is not in conflict even with the official blessing by Washington for the purchase of 100 F-16D aircraft—in other words, the most modern version of this fighter aircraft—which Poland acquired several weeks ago. The United States, which has hitherto insisted that it could sell Warsaw only older versions of the F-16 (the so-called A and B versions), did thus rank Poland among its closest allies, but that does not mean that this is necessarily a step along the road into NATO. Taiwan or Saudi Arabia have F-16D aircraft in their arsenals and are not in NATO. When Minister Holan, at the conclusion of his first visit in Warsaw this year, criticized the Visegrad idea, he stated that it was overcome, thanks to the Partnership for Peace program. At the same time, according to Holan, it is not possible to establish privileged groups striving separately to gain membership in NATO. As early as one month following these words, it is clear that the Czech Republic is attempting nothing other than creating precisely such a group, even though it is informal, together with Poland.

Prime Minister Predicts Economic Growth

AU0901203296 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 5 Jan 96 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Vaclav Musilek; place and date not given: "The Economy Should Also Grow Rapidly This Year"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Musilek] Mr. Prime Minister, it is already a somewhat unhappy tradition that the beginning of the year is associated with the interruption of oil supplies from Russia to the Czech Republic. Will the government deal with this situation?

[Klaus] This does not come under the category of government decisionmaking. It is the same thing every year, and this year it is even less relevant than it was in the past. This is because of the greater stockpiles that we have at home and because there is another, an alternative, pipeline.

[Musilek] So far, the known figures about the rise in industrial output in November confirm the substantial growth trend in the Czech economy. Do you expect it to continue this year, and are there any dangers that could place this development at risk?

[Klaus] I expect the figures for the fourth quarter to even better the figures for the third. I say this knowing that the economic growth of 6.3 percent in the third quarter was surprising to many people, and it indicates that, although we know nothing about December, the result for the fourth quarter will probably be even better. We are already getting closer to Economy Minister Dyba's Asian Tigers; this is what he always says, and we have all just smiled at this. In 1996, I see no reason for economic growth to slow down for economic reasons. I think that, if there is no extraeconomic interference, no extraeconomic failure—that is, a failure in the political or social spheres—there are many reasons for the economy to grow rapidly and, thus, for the standard of living of each of our citizens to increase.

[Musilek] One of the London banking houses, Nomura, has forecast a 20-percent devaluation of the koruna after the elections. Do you envisage any shift in our currency's exchange rate?

[Klaus] I have been monitoring the Japanese company Nomura and its forecasts for many years, and, in my opinion, its forecasts have always turned out to be completely wrong. Nomura is forecasting 20-percent inflation for us this year, and we are reckoning with movement of 7.0-9.0 percent. A jump in inflation to 20 percent is outlandish speculation; this is absolute nonsense. If the majority of world economic commentators are wondering whether the Czech koruna will be revalued by several percent, Nomura's idea about 20-percent devaluation is just as nonsensical as its speculation on inflation. But, fortunately, these Japanese have been mistaken many times. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Hungarian Prime Minister Horn declared in his New Year address that, of the reform countries, Hungary is closest to entry into the EU. "We are the first among our rivals," he said literally. Do you know about anything that would justify such a claim?

[Klaus] I have no reason to polemicize with Prime Minister Horn. I would only say that the external indicators and the external evaluations do not suggest anything like this.

[Musilek] We are not the only ones entering into an election year. The citizens of the United States, for example, will also elect their president. Could the traditional Democratic-Republican duel be somehow reflected in the national activities of the United States?

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[Klaus] The U.S. elections always have a dominating influence on the year in which they take place; everything else is pushed aside. It will be no different this year, and the moods of the voters will certainly be projected into the behavior of the current U.S. Administration. I cannot say precisely whether something portentous will follow on from this for the world's sensitive spots—Bosnia, for example- and I do not think anyone can say. [passage omitted]

Klaus Appointed University Professor

96CH0010B Prague PRAVO in Czech 1 Nov 95 p 1

[Article by Jitka Goetzova: "Klaus Is a Professor—Like He Dreamed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "My whole life I did not dream that I would be prime minister, but rather that I might be a college professor," the prime minister, Professor Docent Engineer Vaclav Klaus, candidate of sciences, told the newspaper PRAVO on Tuesday; on the same day, together with 51 others, he was appointed to the academic rank of professor at the Karolinum in Prague.

In response to a question as to whether he is figuring on teaching anytime, Klaus said: "Certainly. This is something that has amused me all my life and I am looking forward to it even now."

President Vaclav Havel nominated Vaclav Klaus to be an advanced-school professor in the area of finance halfway through October. The Klaus nomination was proposed and the Havel decision was cosigned by Ivan Pilip, minister of education and chairman of the KDS [Christian Democratic Party], after the prime minister's lecture on the topic "Economic Theory and the Reality of Transformation Processes" was approved in a regular session by organs of the Advanced School of Economics in Prague.

As Minister of Education Ivan Pilip (KDS) told PRAVO, the fact that he was handing the prime minister his degree was a confirmation that political reputation and recognition travels paths that are different from scientific reputation. "They can even intersect, but they are independent of each other. Among those appointed today was one who is currently the prime minister, but he was evaluated on the basis of scientific and specialized successes, which are indisputable," the minister noted.

Of the Klaus family members, only his mother was present.

Radovan Lukavsky was appointed to the rank of advanced-school professor of the Academy of Musical Arts.

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want to publicly accuse our high constitutional official of not speaking the truth. Bill Clinton literally replied: "I will do my best." In saying good-bye, I wished President Clinton much success in the election campaign and only then did I again request that he meet with the prime minister. Why do I think these two politicians ought to meet? With all due respect to the head of state, he does not run this state. He is not responsible for its results; he only represents them....

And what would change? Perhaps some information on the President's desk in the White House would look different from now. Perhaps. I do not claim that he is getting poor information. The U.S. system is too professional to provide poor information. However, nothing can substitute for personal contact. When people meet and talk, they influence one another.

Schenk, OSCE Envoy Discuss Minority Issues

LD0801154996 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Max van der Stoel, high commissioner for ethnic minorities in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], began a working visit to the Slovak Republic this morning.

The itinerary of his three-day visit includes a meeting with President Michal Kovac and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. Max van der Stoel met with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk today. Jozef Rebo reports:

[Rebo] [Passage omitted] This is what Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk told Slovak radio about his meeting with the OCSE high commissioner for ethnic minorities:

[Begin Schenk recording] The main importance of this meeting was that it followed a smaller-scale preliminary meeting held during the OCSE conference in Budapest at the beginning of December. During this first meeting we handed a number of important documents to Mr. van der Stoel, in particular a version of the Language Law and the document on implementation of the framework agreement on the rights of ethnic minorities in Slovakia. Mr. van der Stoel very thoroughly studied all of these documents, and today I had an opportunity to get to know what his response to them was.

I am pleased to say that his response was based on his detailed knowledge of these documents, and it was therefore very correct and objective. We discussed, more or less, how problems concerning ethnic minorities should be tackled in the future. He was interested most of all in the progress of the work on drafting a document on minorities' languages and in the next steps in the process of ratifying the Slovak-Hungarian [basic] treaty. What I welcomed with special pleasure and satisfaction was the fact that the high commissioner himself pointed out that he will pay much more attention to the situation of the Slovak minority in Hungary.

In a very detailed and specific discussion, we touched on a number of other specific issues, such as Slovakia's territorial division and the granting of subsidies for culture, and many other issues.

I would like to note that this was the fourth or fifth successive meeting and that maintaining very frequent contacts is extremely important, especially since the opinion of the high commissioner and his experts has become not only more objective but also more comprehensive and has taken reality into account. I can say that in this respect the views and assessment of the situation we are in are far more precise and objective than at the beginning.

I believe that his three-day visit to Slovakia will make it possible for OCSE agencies to further expand their findings and assess them in an objective way. I believe that they will be able to prove that the situation in the ethnic minority sphere in Slovakia is on the European level and in many aspects even higher. [end recording]

Following a meeting with President Michal Kovac in the Great Hall of the Primate Palace, Max van der Stoel answered several questions put to him by journalists concerning, above all, territorial autonomy of the Hungarian minority. Max van der Stoel said, among other things:

[Begin Van der Stoel recording in English with superimposed Slovak translation] Mr. Foreign Minister and I discussed the Hungarian minority's demand for territorial autonomy. I do not express my personal views during visits of this kind but provide them later in written form. Of course, I am aware of the positions of the Slovak and Hungarian political parties on this issue. This morning, Mr. President and I did not discuss ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty. But, during talks with Mr. President and the foreign minister, we mentioned the Language Law and the drafting of the bill on ethnic minorities' languages. We also discussed alternative education, Slovakia's territorial division, and subsidies on [minorities'] culture. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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MKDH Chairman Favors Dropping Autonomy Claim

AU1001200096 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by Nora Sliskova: "Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement Supports Drafting a Common Autonomy Proposal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Hungarian Coalition should work out and publish, this year, a common concept of autonomy in southern Slovakia. Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH], told PRAVDA that this was, for the time being, an MKDH idea, with which it will also turn to the other Hungarian political entities. The demand for territorial autonomy cannot be realized, in his opinion, and the MKDH does not identify with it. However, it would be possible to speak about cultural and school self-administration, coupled with the strengthening of the powers of local self-administration bodies. "I am convinced that, if we had a government in Slovakia that would accede to cultural and school self-administration, we would not be having problems such as those that Ministers Hudec and Slavkovska [of culture and education] are causing us now," Bugar said. He believes that the policy of the present government is aimed at breaking up and gradually assimilating the Hungarian minority. The Hungarian political parties should, therefore, also for this reason agree on a common notion of self-administration for the Hungarian minority in southern Slovakia. Bugar is convinced that, if the Hungarian Coalition managed to work out and put forward such a document, it could help stop attacks from the government parties, which accuse Hungarian parties of irredentism.

Views Stand on Territorial Autonomy

AU0401161896 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, by Zita Sujova; place and date not given: "Bela Bugar: Territorial Autonomy Is No Solution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In his recent speech in parliament on the Slovak-Hungarian treaty, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk said that, if representatives of the Hungarian minority were willing to dissociate themselves from the demand for territorial autonomy and collective rights, it would be possible to ratify this document immediately. We asked Bela Bugar, National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] deputy and chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] for his reaction:

[Bugar] While autonomy is embedded in the MKDH program, we have in mind its lower level—that is, the so-called cultural and school autonomy. Although nine months have elapsed since the signing of the treaty in Paris, neither the minister nor the government has found time to sit down with us and ask us what we understand by the term "autonomy."

[Sujova] Is there unanimity of views within the Hungarian Coalition on the forms of autonomy, particularly territorial autonomy?

[Bugar] No, and this is probably one of the main problems we still have not sorted out. The closest autonomy concepts are those of the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] and the MKDH. The Durayites (Coexistence) have come up with the so-called model of partner nation. For the time being, we do not have a uniform view of this within the coalition, which I personally see as a bit of a problem.

[Sujova] The main cause of the dispute about the basic treaty is the interpretation of Article 11 of Council of Europe Resolution No. 1201. Some claim that it permits collective rights, others say it does not. What do you think?

[Bugar] It reminds me of the argument over what came first, the chicken or the egg. I am of the opinion, for example, that even the network of ethnic schools is a collective right. If someone claims that this is an individual right, I do not mind. Let him call it an individual right; it does not bother me. In our opinion, this dispute over Article 11 can be settled only if we agree on its interpretation. But, if the government coalition intends to interpret it as it is at present—namely, that everything laid down in the treaty has already been fulfilled—then our interpretation will, of course, be different. But I consider the entire dispute over autonomy to be an artificially created bogeyman, used by some politicians to arouse citizens' fear that autonomy could spell the end of Slovakia. These are political conjectures with which we cannot agree.

[Sujova] Are you familiar with Miklos Duray's statement, as interpreted by Dusan Slobodnik [chairman of NRSR Foreign Affairs Committee], that all Hungarians should have the right to live in a common homeland?

[Bugar] I do not know this view of Mr. Duray and have never heard this sentence—except from Mr. Slobodnik in Parliament. Even if he said that, I consider Mr. Slobodnik's quote to be misleading because he always quotes only a sentence or a part thereof but ignores the context in which it was made. I have already heard Slovak colleagues from the government coalition voice the view that, if territorial autonomy came into being

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in Slovakia, the Hungarians living here would hold a referendum and vote for secession from Slovakia. The Constitution does not allow such a possibility, however, and anyone attempting to realize this idea by force would be commiting a crime! In other words, no fears can arise from territorial autonomy for either the present or any future government coalition. These are just artificially created problems meant to divert attention from other problems.

[Sujova] Are you convinced that members of the Hungarian minority do not wish territorial autonomy?

[Bugar] They want to go on living as Hungarians, but they want to have the same rights and guarantees as other citizens of the state. If someone tries to take away their schools and restrict their cultural possibilities and the other "gains" they had even under the communists, and all that just to punish or intimidate them, they will protest publicly. But I do not think the solution lies in territorial autonomy. The solution lies in securing normal conditions for their life and culture.

[Sujova] How do you think the situation regarding the ratification of the treaty will develop?

[Bugar] We assume that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] will try to win support for the ratification from even the "hawks" in the movement's more nationalist wing. To enlist their support, laws will therefore be approved, even before the treaty's ratification, that will thwart in advance the implementation of some of the articles of the treaty. We also assume that the "explanatory" supplement to the treaty that is to be prepared by Mr. Slobodnik as chairman of the NRSR Foreign Affairs Committee will be unacceptable to us. The prime minister has already let it be known that the law on the protection of the Republic is in the legislative process. It is possible that the new territorial and administrative arrangement will be adopted. For some time, Minister of Education Slavkovska has been preparing the so-called school law, which is to determine which subjects in Hungarian-language schools ought to be taught in Slovak and which in Hungarian. The Slovak Heritage Foundation said that it is preparing a change to the election law, and the devil knows what else they have ready and about which we do not have even the slightest idea because, of late, these matters have tended to be kept secret until the last moment....

[Sujova] How will you personally, and the MKDH, vote on the treaty?

[Bugar] We have agreed not to betray this, for tactical reasons. While our parliamentary club has already arrived at a decision, this decision can, naturally, still be modified under the influence of various events that might occur before the treaty's ratification.

Duray Wants Hungary To Set Up Minority Ministry

AU0501192096 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 4 Jan 96 p 3

[Interview with Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Movement, by "ud'ardy"; place and date not given: "Duray Misses Coordination—Ministry Should Be Set up for Those Over the Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a studio interview this year (on Duna Television), Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence in Slovakia, suggested that national minority policy should be made into an "internal affair" and, instead of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Border [HTMH], it might be more auspicious to handle the national minority issue on a ministerial level.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] As a politician from beyond the border, it is somewhat unusual for you to express your views on administrative and structural issues within our borders. Is it because you are also affected?

[Duray] During the period of the Antall government, I expressed my views a number of times on political issues that, as foreign policy, formed part of "nation policy." In terms of government structure, Hungarians living beyond the border are a foreign policy issue, but somehow they are not really, and the Hungarian-Slovak treaty is a good example of this. From this point of view, it makes much difference whether the head of government thinks in terms of being the prime minister of 10 million or 15 million Hungarians. Although the previous government accepted that it would support the legitimate Hungarian organizations beyond the border, no concrete steps were taken. At the moment, the HTMH is the only organization that officially deals with the minority Hungarians, but the decisions and the measures—the "output"—come under the Foreign Ministry's jurisdiction.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Do you think a ministry specializing in this issue would work better?

[Duray] At any rate, the "Hungariandom policy" must be a special section of nation policy. Hungary, completely uniquely in the world, has borders with sections of its own nation on all sides. For this reason, it might be justified to set up a specialized ministry to coordinate the maintenance of contacts.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Government experts have said that it is a constraint to sacrifice our minority policy at the altar of integration policy.

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[Duray] Two professional solutions exist: They either subordinate the national minority policy to the interests of EU membership, or they treat the two as equally important. Sometimes one, other times the other solution seems to be dominant. However, these issues cannot be subordinated to each other because it would be a mistake to sacrifice either of them. One reason for this special contradiction could be that there are no structural ideas to coordinate integration policy and the handling of the issue of Hungarians beyond the border.

Coexistence Leader Advocates Territorial Autonomy

AU0401184896 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Jan 96 p 2

[Interview with Coexistence Deputy Chairman Arpad Duka-Zolyomi by Zita Sujova; place and date not given: "Arpad Duka-Zolyomi: We Advocate Territorial Autonomy but Not Secession"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In a recent interview for NARODNA OBRODA, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] Chairman Bela Bugar said, among other things, that, while the autonomy concepts of the Hungarian Civic Party and the MKDH are very close, the Durayites (Coexistence) have come up with the so-called model of partner nation. We asked Coexistence Deputy Chairman Arpad Duka-Zolyomi for an explanation of this term. He said that the term "partner nation" must be understood literally in political terms—as one of the possibilities of coexistence among various nations and nationalities. According to Duka-Zolyomi, this means that, in the state in question, even ethnic minorities are treated as state-forming [statotvorne] entities, with the same rights as the majority nation. He pointed out that Coexistence worked out this idea as one possibility, but "we prefer not to speak about this now; these are, rather, ideas for the future." Asked whether this model would require territorial and political self-administration, such as a parliament of its own, he said that this would require "a special status on certain territories." He can imagine also a single parliament with two chambers, one of which would be made up of representatives of ethnic minorities elected on the basis of their belonging to the ethnic minority. Asked whether this means that Coexistence continues to contemplate a certain form of territorial autonomy, he replied that territorial autonomy is related to this, but "we now prefer to speak about public administration autonomy." He explained public administration autonomy as the building and strengthening of all self-administrations, within the framework of which they reckon on the establishment of regional self-administered units, in which the ethnic minority would be prevalent and in which it would have the right to elect its own representatives into its own bodies. He conceded that, in a certain sense, territorial autonomy would be involved in this case. He considers the present harsh rejection of the terms "collective rights" and "territorial autonomy" to be "immensely sad and sometimes even pitiful." "Even Mr. Slobodnik (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) conceded that there are rights that cannot be realized individually but only in a group," he stressed, adding that these are precisely the rights that guarantee the preservation and development of ethnic minorities' identities. "Although Europe as a whole is reluctant to take up this issue and to proclaim those rights, they exist, and it is only a matter of time before they are proclaimed," he said. As for autonomy, in areas in which the Hungarians constitute the majority, he can scarcely imagine educational or cultural autonomy "without certain territorial rights and territorial achievements [vymozenosti]." He rejected a perception of territorial autonomy "such as is being impressed upon the public by Minister Schenk, that autonomy paves the way to secession," and added that "we have never thought about it in that way."

Meciar Not Ruling Out HZDS-SDL Coalition

AU0901165896 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Jan 96 p 1

[Report by TASR: "Vladimir Meciar Replies to Question of Why the Party of the Democratic Left Is Not in a Coalition With the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—If the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] is not in a coalition with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] today, it is not because the HZDS would be closing a door on the SDL, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said at this year's first HZDS rally in Bratislava (on 4 January) in reply to citizens' questions concerning the possibility of a coalition with the SDL. According to Vladimir Meciar, the truth is that the SDL chairman has found itself in the president's tow. He is basing his prognosis on the assumption that policies will be implemented through the head of state. As long as the SDL does not dispense with this opinion, it will not get ahead, Vladimir Meciar stressed.

Meciar To Correct 'Mistake' of Kovac Presidency

AU0801135396 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by Martin Krno: "May Slovakia Stride Proudly...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] "...The New Year Without Kovac!!!," proclaimed a banner at yesterday's rally of

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Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] supporters in the sports hall at Bratislava-Pesienky. This slogan became the motto of the entire event. The ridiculing of the president was started by an impersonator from the cultural storm troop, who was followed by speakers from the ruling movement and its satellite miniparties. Parliament Speaker Gasparovic refused to read out the attributes to which the head of state was treated by people from the audience in their written questions, but he made up for it by the characterization of Michal Kovac's New Year's address, with which he regaled the audience. According to Deputy Chairman Huska of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, the FOCUS polling agency is a fraudulent institution paid from abroad, which wants to destroy our state along with the president and the opposition.

The audience, the absolute majority of whom were of pensionable age, naturally awaited with tension primarily their leader's speech. While in its first round Vladimir Meciar concentrated on a laudatory stocktaking of last year, in the second round sensational revelations followed. Meciar claimed that no HZDS body had approved Michal Kovac's candidacy for the highest state post three years ago. They first proposed Ivan Gasparovic, but he gave up his candidacy after the present president came to weep on his shoulder: "Ivanko [diminutive form of Ivan], you are still young, you will still get your chance, but I will not...." The prime minister wants to set right this mistake before this year is over.

We learned, furthermore, that what bishops are supposedly spreading about the prime minister—that he was divorced three times—is not true. He was divorced only once, and even that one divorce was from a Protestant with whom he did not have a church wedding. He married his present wife in the Catholic Church in Raca, has three children with her, and has no intention of getting divorced.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 5 January on page 2 carries a 600-word report by Igor Stupnan on the HZDS rally, according to which Vladimir Meciar denied reports that he was not the first Slovak to be awarded an honorary doctorate from Lomonosov University in Moscow, but that Bela Tuka, prime minister under the pre-1945 Slovak state, had received the award before him. "In more than 200 years, Lomonosov University has awarded honorary doctorates to 162 people. The first was Goethe, the 161st Clinton, and the 162d myself. I am the first Slovak," the HZDS chairman reportedly said. According to the report, HZDS Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska "subjected to criticism the activity of the Slovak clergy, which has reportedly turned shrines of God into pulpits for political propaganda. 'We expect Messrs. bishops to stop politicking and to provide spiritual service to all believers, and not just to 10 percent of them,' A.M. Huska said, and went on to say that, according to some believers, Bishop Balaz speaks about a battle being waged against the church. A.M. Huska called this a lie because no one in any other neighboring state has done so much for the church as the HZDS."]

Russian Official Discusses Gas Supply Contract

AU0301175696 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22, 23 Dec 95

[Interview in two installments with Yuriy Vasilyevich Zelenetskiy, Russian Federation trade counselor for Slovakia, by Alica Durianova on 19 December; place not given]

[22 December pp 1, 5]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Zelenetskiy: In the Matter of Gas, Russia Today May Be More Dependent on Slovakia Than Slovakia on Russia

Bratislava—We discussed topical issues of Slovak-Russian trade relations with Yuriy Vasilyevich Zelenetskiy, Russian Federation trade counselor for Slovakia.

[Durianova] When assessing Slovak-Russian trade relations, two problems are dominant: the payment of old Russian debts to Slovakia and the present Slovak deficit in trade with Russia. What is the actual state of the Russian debt, and when will Russia pay it off?

[Zelenetskiy] The problem of the old debts was resolved during the visit to Moscow by former Deputy Prime Minister Brigita Schmognerova—in the summer of 1994. They amounted to $1.8 billion, of which Russia still is to pay approximately $1.3 billion. I am referring to the payment schedule agreed upon with Schmognerova, according to which the debt is to be paid off over five years. Russian-Slovak trade relations should be judged, however, by the balance of trade rather than the balance of payments. We supply Slovakia with gas, and, until the end of the year, Slovakia paid almost nothing for this gas.

[Durianova] It paid for it beforehand by the construction of pipelines.

[Zelenetskiy] Nevertheless, we also used the gas to pay Slovak organizations for the transit of Russian gas through Slovak territory.

Was it or was it not advantageous for you? Mr. Demko or, rather, the Slovak gas industry uses pipes buried in

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the ground. It benefits to the sum of several hundred million dollars from the gas that is piped through them to western Europe. Another question is that, as per contract, Russia began to pay off the debts with goods. Therefore, I ask you, is it necessary under these circumstances to discuss the issue of Russian trade surplus with Slovakia? I do not believe it is a problem that would burden the Slovak economy. The problem is only how Russia is to pay its debts—in goods or in cash? The debts originated from Slovakia shipping goods to Russia, so we want to pay them off in goods. In the spring of 1995, Russia paid $50 million in cash. In addition, we have shipped $500 million worth of goods to pay off these debts during the past years and this year. It is officially regarded as a deficit in Slovak-Russian trade. Does one need to worry about it?

[Durianova] There are always problems with such debt repayments with goods. The advantage for the creditor depends on the type of goods supplied and their evaluation. Was the structure of the goods arranged?

[Zelenetskiy] Let us be frank. What kind of goods have you supplied to us? On what kind of shipments is the debt based? Garments and footwear of inferior quality.

[Durianova] That has nothing to do with anything. This is business. It is not charity.

[Zelenetskiy] I agree. Therefore, you cannot demand that we repay the debts in black gold. The list of goods you are interested in and all the conditions for settling the Russian debt were arranged on the level of the Finance and Economy Ministries on your side and the Finance and External Trade Relations Ministries on ours. Slovakia was the only country to which we began to pay off the debt even before the official agreement on this affair was signed. This agreement was not signed until June 1994.

[Durianova] Let us go back to the structure of goods that comprise the payment of the Russian debt.

[Zelenetskiy] Such a "global list" was put together at the ministerial level, which is then implemented by means of contracts on the enterprise level. A contract was signed for a shipment of 2,000 Lada cars, we sent you aircraft recently and combine harvesters before that, a contract was signed on the supply of coal and artificial fertilizers, and the construction of a cyclotron for Slovakia is being discussed because the Czech-Slovak research institute, which had an elementary particle accelerator, remained in the Czech Republic. At the fourth talks of the intergovernment commission, both parties supported this idea. I ask you now, what troubles you regarding these trade relations?

[Durianova] Despite what you say—namely, that the unbalanced Russian-Slovak trade is caused by paying off old Russian debts in goods—one cannot but see the great imbalance between Slovak imports and exports to Russia. Just as the Czechs struggle against the predominance of German capital, we cannot be enthusiastic about the great dependence on imports from Russia.

[Zelenetskiy] And who benefits from this? Look, this is a list of the Slovak enterprises with the largest sales. Let us take Slovnaft, one of the largest Slovak enterprises. It procures 5 million metric tons of crude oil from Russia each year, while Slovakia needs only 2.5 million metric tons. So, why does it procure 5 million metric tons from Russia? Because it buys Russian oil under good terms, processes it, and sells the products in the Czech Republic, Austria, Hungary, and Ukraine with a greater profit margin than Russia gets from the sale of oil to Slovakia.

[Durianova] That is normal business and the effect of the law of added value.

[Zelenetskiy] So, the trade surplus on the Russian side is not in order, but this is? Nevertheless, let us go on. Your power plants procure coal from Russia, from Kuzbas. Why do you transport it a distance of 5,000 km when you can buy it in Poland or Ukraine?

You also purchase iron ore in Russia because it is more prudent for the VSZ [East Slovak Ironworks]. Slovakia is one of the few countries that managed not to increase the price of electric power. Why is that?

It is because the Slovak nuclear power plants obtain the fuel rods from Russia more cheaply, and they are generally considered to be of good quality. You have received some of the nuclear fuel in exchange for your goods. Nowhere in the world is barter trade conducted in nuclear fuel. Why do Slovak power plants procure cheap coal in Russia, and why does Matador Puchov purchase rubber in Russia? Why not elsewhere? After all, we are not forcing anyone to buy from us—the demand for all these raw materials and for our aluminum and artificial fertilizers is tremendous. I know that in trade relations both partners should be a bit dissatisfied. If one or both of them are satisfied, it is not good. Of course, we are interested in good relations with Slovakia, although trade with Slovakia comprises only a very small part of our total trade. Nevertheless, we take the broader context into account. Slovakia is one of the few countries where the people do not suffer from Russophobia. Our people come here as tourists and for spa therapy, they understand your culture, they have plenty of good relations on the work and scientific levels, and they feel good here. Your country and people are close to us. That is important to us.

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We enjoy working with you. So, in the interest of good relations, we often close our eyes. For instance, within the framework of the agreements between Prime Ministers Meciar and Chernomyrdin signed in February, your government insisted on the reduction of the number of citizens of the Russian Federation working on the territory of Slovakia and the number of Slovaks working in Russia to 1,500. There are some 6,000 to 8,000 Slovaks working in construction in Russia, and we could object and point to the treaty, especially because there are 2.5 million unemployed in Russia. Nevertheless, we said let it be and closed our eyes to this.

[Durianova] That is a nice gesture, although it would be interesting to find out how many citizens of the Russian Federation are working in Slovakia, including the so-called black souls, and how many Slovaks are working on construction sites financed by foreign firms or Germany. I am referring to the so-called Kohl apartments for the Russian soldiers withdrawn from former East Germany.

[Zelenetskiy] There is no agreement that would facilitate for foreign firms not to employ domestic workers, Russian citizens.

[Durianova] In principle, however, it is an entirely different issue. The information on unbalanced trade with Russia is presented in Slovakia in the context of possible political risks.

[Zelenetskiy] Today's Russia cannot be compared with the former Russia. And even then, we knew how to prioritize economic interests over political interests. At the time of tense relations with Egypt, for instance, we proceeded peacefully with the construction of a metallurgical combine in that country.

[23 December pp 1, 5]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Zelenetskiy: Cooperation on the Construction of a Nuclear Power Plant in Iran Was Initiated by Slovakia

Bratislava—We carried the first installment of the interview with Yuriy Vasilyevich Zelenetskiy, Russian Federation trade counselor for Slovakia, yesterday. Today, we publish the second part.

[Durianova] Certain concerns have been expressed recently concerning Russian-Slovak cooperation on the construction of a nuclear power plant in Iran.

[Zelenetskiy] Your side asked the Russian side whether a suitable form of cooperation could be found for the SEZ [Slovak Power Generating Works] Tlmace, and we replied to the effect that the possibility exists of participating in the construction of a nuclear power plant in Iran. The talk about Americans not liking it, that it would help Iran to produce nuclear weapons is just a Grimm fairy tale because the construction of nuclear power plants has nothing to do with nuclear weapons; they are two completely different things.

[Durianova] After the meeting last week between Minister Ducky and representatives of the Russian Government, reports appeared in some Slovak papers that the credit that is to be provided by Russia for the completion of Mochovce will in fact consist only of shipments of nuclear fuel, project and other work; the $50 million, originally promised by Russia in cash, should be paid precisely by the arrangement of Slovak participation in the completion of the nuclear power plant in Iran.

[Zelenetskiy] That is a lie. The Russian-Slovak contract on Russia's participation in the completion of the Mochovce nuclear plant went into effect even before Minister Ducky's latest visit to Moscow. Everything remains as agreed: $50 million in cash, $30 million in the form of Russian project and other services, and $70 million in the form of nuclear fuel shipments or a commercial credit for the supply of this fuel.

[Durianova] There are also numerous questions surrounding the treaty on the Russian-Slovak gas-industrial house.

[Zelenetskiy] No such contract exists.

[Durianova] Nevertheless, Minister Ducky signed a memorandum or a protocol about this joint venture a week ago and spoke about it with reporters as a fait accompli.

[Zelenetskiy] I would still characterize it as an intention, a resolution.

[Durianova] A resolution that Prime Minister Meciar could turn into reality on 22 December by signing the treaty on the occasion of his having an honorary doctorate from Lomonosov University conferred on him in Moscow.

[Zelenetskiy] I believe that this type of agreement should be signed by professionals—that is, Vyachirev from our side and either Minister Ducky or the director of the Slovak gas industry from your side. I do not believe that Prime Minister Meciar will be signing it. And what is disquieting about this intention?

[Durianova] One example would be the question of proportion and conditions for the Slovak gas industry and for this joint Russian-Slovak venture, which also intends to deal in gas.

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[Zelenetskiy] A five-year agreement on the gas supply was signed between Metalimex, which represented the entire Czech Republic and Slovakia, and Gasprom and runs until the end of this half-year. No new contract has been signed since the secession of Slovakia. This contract was also in effect in 1993, 1994, and 1995, and nothing has changed on our side regarding the contract between Metalimex and Kerametal. What is the problem now? The shipments of gas continue, and, if no new contract is signed, the old one will remain in effect.

Now I will describe the circumstances of the signing of the contract on the supply of Russian oil. Because these shipments come to Slovnaft from several Russian oil companies, I perceived the request to sign the Russian promise on the supply of oil until 2005 as an interest in having these relations stabilized. Nonetheless, voices were then heard asking why there should be such a contract with a monopoly supplier and monopoly price. A year passed, however, and none of the concerns that some had have come true. In the meantime, the Czechs built a pipeline from Kralupy to Ingolstadt. Do you know what that means for Slovakia? A loss. We used to sell oil to the Czech Republic through Slovakia at the Slovak-Ukrainian border. In my estimation, Mr. Marunek (ed. note—director of Transpetrol) received some $100 to 150 million for shipping 7 million metric tons of oil to the Czech Republic. And now? Mr. Marunek will be shipping 2 million tons of oil less to the Czech Republic. So, who complicated life for the Slovaks? The oil flows from Russia as agreed. The same will be the case with gas. Gas has flowed and will continue to flow in the future. Is there any reason for unease here?

[Durianova] Perhaps because today is 19 December, the old contracts expire on 31 December, and new ones for the supply of gas in the coming years have not yet been signed.

[Zelenetskiy] Russia submitted to Slovakia a draft contract on the supply of gas for three years. You have received an offer. Why has Mr. Demko not signed it yet? What is the problem?

[Durianova] Perhaps he is waiting for the text of the contract on the joint Russian-Slovak gas venture.

[Zelenetskiy] You can forget it.

[Durianova] Why?

[Zelenetskiy] Because these two affairs are not at all related. Moreover, Slovakia also provides transit to West Europe. We have also submitted a draft contract in this respect. Find out why it has not been signed.

[Durianova] And what do you think? Why?

[Zelenetskiy] Although no contracts with Slovak firms have been signed, gas has gone to Slovakia. Russian statistics registered all gas shipments to the Czech and Slovak Republics based on the old contracts as shipments to the Czech Republic. Gas has flowed to Slovakia like this for three years, and there have been no problems. At this time, Gasexport is ready to sign a contract with its Slovak partner. And I just cannot understand why the Slovak side is hesitating to sign.

[Durianova] Can you tell us anything more specific about the Slovak-Russian joint gas venture? For example, what share in the capital participation is requested by the Russian party?

[Zelenetskiy] Details of the contract on founding this trading facility can be discussed only after it is signed. What will be the Russian stake? Look, Mr. Rosina of Matador Puchov came to us in Russia to found a joint Slovak-Russian venture, and we gave him a 51-percent stake.

[Durianova] You cannot compare a 51-percent Slovak stake in a factory that is almost meaningless from the point of view of the Russian national economy with 51-percent Russian participation in an enterprise that has ambitions to deal in Slovakia with gas shipped from Russia.

[Zelenetskiy] What good do these speculations do? Why cry beforehand, when no contracts have been signed?

[Durianova] Because it would be too late to cry after they are signed.

[Zelenetskiy] Do you believe the Slovaks are stupid? I have not yet seen a stupid Slovak, but I have seen stupid Russians. I will tell you what I would do if I were Slovak. I would want Russian gas to continue flowing in transit through Slovakia. Look how Mr. Demko—that is, the Slovak gas industry—makes money. His sales reach $1.2 billion and profit $400 million. Show me another such gas enterprise anywhere in the world that reports this kind of profit, such returns. We must ask whether it is also advantageous for us.

[Durianova] I believe you should have thought of that when the pipelines were built.

[Zelenetskiy] We did this jointly within the CEMA framework in the old times. Now, seriously, it is impossible that Gasprom would do what Mr. Demko wants. A mutually expedient solution must be sought.

It is a fact that today, regarding gas, Russia may be more dependant on Slovakia than Slovakia is on Russia. Because if gas does not pass through the pipes in Slovakia, Slovakia will lose, but Russia will lose even more as the 70 million cubic meters of gas that Russia exports to Western Europe pass through Slovak pipes.... Therefore, I am convinced that a mutually expedient solution will be found.

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Keleti Views U.S. Troops, IFOR Mission

AU0901171996 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Jan 96 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by "varju;" place and date not given: "Hungary Will Never Submit the Bill to NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti, cooperation with the IFOR [Implementation Force] can speed up Hungary's NATO membership. Nevertheless, in Keleti's view, full NATO membership can be achieved in one or two years at the earliest. Keleti also promised that the Hungarian technical unit will only leave for Bosnia when the necessary security conditions have been established for it.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Although the first NATO bases in Hungary were set up in Taszar and Kaposvar, the press, at least in West Europe, claims that the Hungarian public is not yet clear about the actual situation: Have we now formally entered NATO or has NATO entered Hungary?

[Keleti] In my view, the point is something completely different. As there seems to be a serious chance for lasting peace to develop in the area of Bosnia, the UN Security Council commissioned the establishment of so-called IFOR peacekeeping and peacemaking troops, in which NATO took on the decisive role. Therefore, rather than NATO, this is an international IFOR strength. It is a different matter that the United States saw Hungary as an area from where it could ensure the supply of its troops that are to advance to the—from military point of view—operational area, and from where it could solve the reinforcement of the some 20,000-strong troops. Therefore, in this sense, it is not a question of who has entered what. Hungarian political intentions aim at admission to NATO but the Hungarian side has not yet been given a possibility for concrete membership. NATO has not yet specified whether it will admit Hungary, and we have not yet submitted our admission request, either.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Observers, however, remind us that after setting up the Taszar base, Hungary's NATO membership cannot be questioned, and our admission will only be a formality. The fact that mainly U.S. troops are stationed in Hungary and that they have established a logistics base already means that a foothold has been set up in East Europe.

[Keleti] I would be happy if the experts' opinion was proved right and our NATO admission was indeed only a formality. However, in my view, the military and security policy expectations NATO had previously set for those aspiring for membership will not be changed or reduced by our participation in the Bosnian peace mission. Although the country has virtually fulfilled the stipulated political requirements—for example, stable democracy, multiparty system, and market economy—we can only meet the military technical expectations by acquiring compatibility and through technical development. Naturally, the fact that close logistical contacts are formed with the IFOR troops that are stationed here or are passing through has a positive effect on our assessment, and cooperation can speed up our NATO admission. At the same time, I continue to say that we still need one or two years before Hungary can be ready for full NATO membership.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Of course, we all know that the admission is mainly a political decision.

[Keleti] This is true but, in addition to being a political organization, NATO is also a military organization: This is a military organization under unified command, although with very big national independence, and certain tasks, peacetime training, and exercises can only be implemented at some level of compatibility.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Perhaps now, with the Bosnian mission of the Hungarian technical battalion, the Hungarian army will be able to prove itself. We could see that similar U.S. troops needed a week to build a bridge on the Sava River while, according to the training plans, the Hungarian soldiers have to solve this type of task in four hours....

[Keleti] The requirements for the Hungarian soldiers are set up for the Danube and the conditions here are not the same as where the Americans were working on the flooded and rather fast Sava. Therefore, congratulations to the performance of the American soldiers. At the same time, I also congratulate the Hungarian soldiers because they have already proved their high level of preparation a number of times.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Returning to the issue of the Taszar IFOR-NATO base, the arrival of the Americans was awaited with rather great expectations. Then the mood quickly subsided, and neither the population nor the Hungarian officers can understand what is going on at their own base. Indeed, how well-known is it to the Hungarian military leadership what is happening on Hungary's territory at a Hungarian base? To what extent are we informed in connection with the troop movements and air traffic in the sovereign Hungary?

[Keleti] We have rented these barracks to the Americans for which the Hungarian army receives a fee. In other words, the U.S. soldiers are living in the area rented by them with full rights, and we do not even want to know all that is happening there because this is their

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affair. However, let me prove that we know all that is important for us with one of the morning reports prepared every day by our experts. According to the latest material, yesterday the U.S. Air Force carried out transport tasks with 29 planes and 31 planes left the country; 15 helicopters arrived and 33 left Hungary; six trains arrived by rail with 128 carriages, and two trains left the country with 44 carriages. With this come the road data and exact staff numbers, and all other information by which we can follow what is happening in Taszar and Kaposvar. However, we are not curious in the sense that we want to see into the American cooking pots and find out how many teeth are extracted in the camp hospitals; the data closely related to Hungary's security are important for us and we do have a rather accurate picture of these.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] The doubters worry precisely about Hungarian sovereignty because the Taszar flying regiment has been relocated to Papa and the former training flights have been stopped. Who is then defending Hungarian airspace? The Americans even objected to the Hungarian aerial control's routine radar observation of their planes.

[Keleti] The latter is truly an issue of Hungarian sovereignty. It is an obligation of the Hungarian army to identify, locate, and observe the movement of flying objects in Hungarian air space. In connection with the first half of the issue, it has to be known that many of the Taszar flying regiment's planes had to relocate to Papa so that the pilots could continue training undisturbed, and that the number of places participating in air defense preparedness does not get reduced.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] We have heard that a number of people withdrew from the technical unit to be sent to Bosnia because they are afraid of the uncertainty and the alleged security vacuum. Would you now have the courage to guarantee that our soldiers will be able to fulfill their tasks with adequate defense?

[Keleti] From the first moment, when the participation of a technical unit was raised in the activities of the IFOR troops, we were clear about the fact that this work had risks. These are much smaller than in the case of a fighting unit but they are not negligible. We have never denied this risk but also said that we would try to organize the possible security conditions in the given circumstances. More than 3,100 people applied for the 400 places, out of whom many hundreds have withdrawn in the meantime because they had not thought about the task properly or had not consulted their families. I am also certain that some reports, film reports on the previously, indeed bloody, Bosnian situation, also did not have a good effect on the mood of the applicants, although they did not reflect the current situation.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] So the media is responsible again.

[Keleti] I am not claiming this, but it is a fact that we have grown accustomed to peace in Hungary and perceive danger differently from how it appears in reality, and in many cases, the desire for adventure made people apply to the technical unit. This is one of the reasons they went through a rather thorough psychological check.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Four rifle squads are also traveling to Bosnia and are not receiving typically technical training. Does this not contradict parliament's decision which only allowed sending noncombatant sappers equipped only with self-defense weapons?

[Keleti] This will not be a combatant unit, either, because they will ensure security on location, and we drew up the plans for this with the agreement of the army command. Therefore, this is not a new idea that has emerged overnight. These soldiers will ensure the self-defense of the technical troops in Bosnia and will watch out for their security.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] In the West it is believed that the establishment of the Taszar IFOR-NATO base is a success of Hungarian military diplomacy. Is it not a failure of military diplomacy that a debate over the security of the Hungarian unit has flared up in recent days?

[Keleti] I cannot see such a problem. Sometime in mid-December we invited applications for filling the battalion, and on 23 December, General Joulwan, NATO's European commander, visited Hungary. I discussed with him the issue of the security of the Hungarian unit. Four days later, as a kind of reminder, I wrote a letter to the general in which I laid greatest emphasis on the security of the Hungarian soldiers in the spirit of the talks we had held. In his late December reply, General Joulwan informed me that he had arranged for the rapid reaction force to receive the Hungarian army's highest-level leaders and work out the security issues. Therefore, this is a process that was later joined by certain Western military commanders (this is about the visit and statements in Hungary of two relatively low-level NATO generals who are only responsible for technical matters—editor's note) who obviously were not familiar with the preceding events and the continuous talks. As a matter of fact, I do not see this whole debate as something negative, because the unit will only leave for Bosnia, in any case, if we establish for them the security conditions that circumstances permit. For this very reason, we will take up

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contact with the relevant officials of the Bosnian Serb army within the coming days.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] How will this be done, and will only Hungarians take up contact?

[Keleti] I do not yet wish to talk about this. When the contact is made, we will inform the press. The meeting will probably take place somewhere other than Hungary or Bosnia, and its organization has not been an easy task.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Is Hungary's role indeed indispensable in solving the south Slav crisis as higher-level U.S. circles are saying? Can this be an advantage for us when it comes to NATO membership?

[Keleti] Hungary's participation in this complicated task is indeed of key importance because, in addition to the Americans, troops of countries to the north and east of us can only approach the region through us. However, I would like to add that Hungary will never submit the bill in a political sense to NATO for its efforts, but we will always remind them how much we have done for cooperation and for the IFOR troops to safely advance to Bosnia.

Kaposvar 'Disappointed' With U.S. Troops

AU1001102296 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 6 Jan 96 p 4

[Interview with Istvan Gyenesei, deputy in the Kaposvar municipal local government, by "P.G." in Kaposvar on 4 January: "Kaposvar Is Disappointed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The euphoria is over in Kaposvar; people only like the U.S. soldiers here and there, but this is not an ideological change; instead, the main town of Somogy County operates strictly according to business rules. Some people benefited from the NATO contingent, others did not....

The municipal general assembly held a meeting on 4 January and deputy Istvan Gyenesei came up with questions before the agenda, but rhetorical questions, because there is no direct contact between Kaposvar and the U.S. Army; Gyula Horn himself decides on everything that happens in the town and with the town.

[Gyenesei] We were full of expectations. Kaposvar hoped that the Americans' presence would help the town, but this did not turn out quite this way.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Are you disappointed?

[Gyenesei] That is not true. Kaposvar definitely advanced in many things. Some 700 unemployed people found jobs after the Americans' arrival, primarily construction and unskilled work, although this number is rather small compared with the percentage of unemployed here. It is also progress for Kaposvar that it can now make better use of its accommodation and storage capacity than ever before.... One more thing is that the U.S. soldiers are increasingly making use of the Hungarian hospitals, because they are not prepared for everything. However, this subject already takes us into the negative aspects, because nobody knows how they will settle the bills for medical treatment.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] One can also hear of traffic accidents....

[Gyenesei] This is not the city's affair; the Americans are driving fast, that is all. If the Americans get to Pecs instead of Kaposvar, they will smash the cars there....

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] They sent 80 interpreters away because, allegedly, they did not speak English at an adequate level....

[Gyenesei] In my opinion, they spoke English at the adequate level, but they simply needed those 80 interpreter jobs....

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] You live in Kaposvar. How does the city relate to the Americans?

[Gyenesei] There are more bad opinions than good opinions about them. The American Army cars go through every decent main road. We, Kaposvar residents, preferred the Trabant and Lada cars....

Troops Cause Property Damage

LD0901092196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Taszar and Kaposvar [settlements in southwestern Hungary] are hard hit by the presence of U.S. troops. The main road in Taszar is badly cracked, the sewage pipe is damaged in eight places, and the walls of several houses along the peacekeepers' way are cracking. The local government, which has a budget of 60 million forints [Ft], has so far suffered losses totalling Ft40 million.

'Closer Cooperation' Expected

LD0901142596 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The more U.S. soldiers that go to Bosnia, the more Hungarian policemen are needed in Taszar. This and other organizational matters were discussed at the meeting which lasted late into last night, and at which Hungarian-U.S. cooperation in Somogy county was discussed. Details from Laszlo Farago.

[Farago] The Hungarian authorities are expecting closer cooperation from the Americans and a request was also

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made that military helicopters not fly over inhabited areas. This is also forbidden by international regulations. [passage omitted]

U.S. military vehicles have so far caused 20 accidents on public roads which, according to experts, is insignificant considering the unusually large military traffic. It has been noted that the Americans usually keep to the regulations.

Today, 21 U.S. military convoys will depart, which means that 42 police cars and at least 45 policemen will escort the trucks. A seven-strong police unit is already operating in Taszar on a temporary basis, mainly in order to control traffic. They wish to extend the number to at least 20, but policemen will have to be moved here from elsewhere, Janos Toth, deputy Somogy police chief, told our program. [passage omitted]

Efforts To Alleviate Damages

AU1001154896 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Jan 96 p 5

[Correspondent's report: "Taszar Cannot Bear the Burden"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With police escort, several dozen convoys pass between the IFOR [Implementation Force] bases of Kaposvar and Taszar every day, inadvertently causing considerable damage to the local roads that have limited ability to carry such burdens. The Americans are holding intensive negotiations aimed at eliminating the existing irregularities and damages.

Representatives of the local governments in Somogy County, Kaposvar, and Taszar held talks with Jozsef Lajtar, deputy economic state secretary at the Hungarian Interior Ministry, on 9 January. Jozsef Keri, deputy clerk of Kaposvar, told us that, so far, Kaposvar has not felt any advantage from the presence of the Americans in town. They think that "someone somewhere always decides not to allow the soldiers to use the equal quality services in Kaposvar" but, so far, they have been unable to find out who is the economic decisionmaker for the IFOR troops with whom they could hold talks. The aforementioned representatives asked for a total of 25 million forints [Ft] from the ministry to be used to repair roads and to compensate for the increased administrative expenses. Speaking to MAGYAR HIRLAP, the district notary of Taszar declared that, in his view, restoring the roads would cost Ft40-50 million, but they would like to restore the original situation; however, he regards the Americans as quite willing to make good.

Vehicles of 100 tonnes travel on roads built for 10 tonnes in Kaposvar and Taszar; as a result, a water pipe broke in Taszar and a street can collapse any minute there. Therefore, traffic has been restricted to one way and the Volan company increased its transportation prices by Ft27 because of a 1.2 kilometer bypass road. Colonel Murdoch, representative of the IFOR troops, repeatedly checked the damages on location and promised to repair them but, so far, all the damage has been repaired by local firms. The representatives of the two towns in question told us that they have never given written permits for the traffic of vehicles; they only accepted this as a sign of goodwill.

According to the Defense Ministry spokesman, a maintenance contract will be readied in a few days. Based on this, the Americans will be responsible under exact legal frameworks for the damages incurred to the buildings and roads they use "contrary to the foreign military presence so far." At a meeting of the Somogy County Defense Committe held on 8 January, Col. Murdoch promised to take measures, but the Kaposvar deputy clerk himself said that they did not contact the base on the compensation issue, because they regard this as something within the jurisdiction of the ministries.

Keleti Expects Written Guarantees for IFOR Unit

LD0801135196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti, the Hungarian technical unit to be sent to Croatia will only get a written guarantee for its protection when it starts its activity on the scene. Gyorgy Keleti was speaking about this before military and air force attaches in Budapest. Attila Peter Nagy reports.

[Nagy] The defense minister said that the Hungarian technical unit would only get a written guarantee for its protection when it becomes part of the IFOR [Implementation Force]. Gyorgy Keleti, however, recalled that minutes of earlier talks prove that, in the event of an unexpected attack against the Hungarian soldiers, the peacekeeping troops would launch an immediate land and air counterattack.

He added that the Hungarian army headquarters considers the IFOR a united force, the units of which are equal in rank. Therefore, any kind of help can rightly be expected, and the Hungarian technical unit will also give help to the other peacekeepers. This, however, can only be a technical cooperation, the minister said.

He also added that he saw the greatest danger not in a direct attack but in accidents resulting from the violation of discipline. He said that there had been a more serious accident among the Slovak soldiers serving in Bosnia, when their vehicle ran on a land mine on an unchecked road that they were not permitted to use.

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First IFOR Unit To Leave for Croatia 17 Jan

LD1001212496 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Hungarian technical unit that will take part in the international peacemaking is expected to leave for Croatia on 25 January, Colonel (Jozsef Ronkovics), commander of the contingent, told the "Chronicle." He also told us that the preparation unit of the Hungarian contingent will leave for Okucane in a week's time, and that Hungarian President Arpad Goncz will bid farewell to the first soldiers in Ercsi. Col. (Ronkovics) told the "Chronicle":

[Begin (Ronkovics) recording] The training of the technical unit continues, both professional and general training. They are also being supplied with material tools. Our preparation unit will reach the stage where it can leave for its destination by 17 January. The main force will reach the stage where it can leave the country around 25 January. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Slovak Delay in Ratifying Treaty 'Worries' Kovacs

LD1101101096 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 11 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking to "Morning Chronicle" this morning, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs expressed his worries over Slovakia's delay in the ratification of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty.

Laszlo Kovacs recalled that the first deadline set for the ratification was the beginning of last summer [1995].

Asked about the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty, the foreign minister considered it possible that the agreement could be concluded this year.

He also said that, although bilateral ties both with Slovakia and Romania were promising,—trade relations had been expanding and new border crossing points had been opened—the two countries had passed laws that worsen the situation of the Hungarian communities living there. He mentioned as examples the Slovak language law and the Romanian education law.

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Tuzla Residents Welcome Visit From Clinton

AU1001160296 Paris AFP in English 1535 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Jan 10 (AFP) — Residents of this northern Bosnian town will give US President Bill Clinton a warm welcome when he visits Saturday, but wish he had intervened sooner to prevent the bloodiest shelling incident of the three-year war.

Sitting at a cigarette stand a few yards from the spot where a shell fired by rebel Serb forces killed 71 young people last May, cigarette seller Vantic Mujo said he was "glad" Clinton will finally come to Bosnia this weekend.

"He's a good man, President Clinton, but he started a little late," Vantic said wearily, gesturing towards the flower-strewn shrine built at the site.

Fahira Panjevic, a teacher taking a party of school children to visit the site Wednesday said that she too was "glad" that Clinton was coming.

But it was "a little too late" for her party of eight- and nine-year-old pupils she said.

"The sister of one of these girls was killed here in May. They have all grown up living in shelters and basements," she said.

"Maybe if he had done something four years ago, instead of last year, there would have been fewer victims," she said.

Tuzla, a grimy town dominated by the surrounding Majevica hills, suffered less from shelling than some other places in Bosnia.

But it was shaken to its core by the massacre wrought by the shell that hit the town on May 25. The date was traditionally celebrated in Yugoslavia as Youth Day and most of those killed in the attack were under 25.

During his election campaign in 1992, Clinton promised to act strongly against the rebel Bosnian Serbs and most residents of Tuzla were pleased when he was elected, several residents said Wednesday.

Though he took "too long" to act, Clinton — and the Americans in general — are widely regarded here as responsible for the end of the war.

"He wanted peace and that's what is important for us," said Sabera Skripic.

But sitting at his cigarette stand, Vantic Mujo said Clinton should remain aware that Tuzla still bears the scars of the massacre, and that the US president should perhaps think of visiting the site of the killing.

"I doubt he will come here to see anyone in Tuzla itself. He will just go to the airbase to see his troops," he said.

"But if he does come, this is a place he should see."

Sacirbegovic Views Ties With United States

LD0601203696 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovina 1830 GMT 6 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Relations between the United States and Bosnia-Herzegovina were the topic of today's regular roundtable of Bosniak intellectuals. The guest was Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

[Correspondent] Like Bosnia-Herzegovina, the United States is an open community that accepts everything offered to it from the outside, said Sacirbegovic. In this sense it accepted a large number of emigrants from Bosnia and from the entire world. With regard to this, the most important factor that could guarantee the survival of both Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United States is the factor of a multicultural society. When we speak of a community such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, the United States knows what it means to defend a multicultural society, and knows that this has its advantages and dangers, Sacirbegovic said at today's roundtable of the council of Bosniak intellectuals.

In the United States the Jews were the ones who gave most support to Bosnia-Herzegovina. They justified the struggle of the Bosniak people for a multi-culture, which is important for Bosnia's future, Sacirbegovic said.

Minister Sacirbegovic also spoke about the strategic factor linking the United States and Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to him, the United States has no strategic interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For this reason NATO is the most important defense body and the most important body maintaining a link between the United States and Europe.

Sacirbegovic described our history and our culture as a bridge. We are a bridge between the West and the East; between Islam and Christendom; between Catholicism and Orthodoxy; a bridge between many cultures, which we must not forget, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said in conclusion.

Sacirbegovic on Relations With Belgrade, Zagreb

LD0601175096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 6 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the studio is Miljenko Vojkic, the producer and presenter of the "The World Today" program.

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[Vojkic] Dear listeners, good morning. Over the past few days and in the days ahead we are witnessing visits from numerous senior politicians' and well-known personalities to our country. At the center of attention are the implementation of the Dayton agreement and the wider questions of the future reconstruction and development of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its implementation into the world community.

It has been announced that the American President Bill Clinton is to visit Bosnia-Herzegovina in the second half of this month. We will discuss this in more detail later in the program, as well as visits that have been for the last few days at the center of our audience's attention.

How does the world press see the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the role of NATO forces in the implementation of peace? We will also discuss this in another part of our program.

Toward the end, we will see the reactions of the world community to the nuclear test that France is continuing in spite of all the protests.

The largest part of the program we have reserved for an interview with the guest of today's "The World Today," Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. Mr. Sacirbegovic has, in a telephone interview, answered topical questions on the current position and development of this ministry to [word indistinct] of the diplomatic services, and gave his views on the development of diplomatic relations with neighboring countries.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [[Vojkic] How do you see the development of our diplomatic service in Zagreb and in Belgrade?

[Sacirbegovic] We have a diplomatic service in Zagreb, but not yet in Belgrade. Let me talk about Belgrade first.

According to the agreement signed in Paris, the diplomatic positions, embassies in Belgrade and Sarajevo are to be opened. We already have mutual recognition between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The second stage is the opening of embassies. We are ready for it, but we have yet to see how much Belgrade is ready and whether they will set certain conditions.

It is clear that there have to be some changes in Belgrade before we can expect relations to reach the level we would like to have with a neighboring country.

[Vojkic] What changes do you have in mind?

[Sacirbegovic] Well, that country has not passed the test of democracy and free market economy. It is still suffocating in a kind of communism and authoritarian rule, which is now often presented as nationalism.

Still, we are keen to slowly develop relations, to prevent future conflicts. But we still consider Belgrade responsible for this war, even genocide, and we are still pressing charges at the international tribunal against Belgrade for genocide.

This does not mean that we should not try on the other side to strengthen diplomatic lines. Such is diplomacy sometimes; on the one hand one has to try to strengthen understanding and diplomatic contacts, and on the other still defend interests. In this situation, we still demand from the International Court for Justice [as heard] that Belgrade be condemned for genocide.

As far as Zagreb is concerned, it is considered one of our most important embassies [words indistinct] that we have most important relations. There, Ambassador [Kasim] Trnka has done, in my opinion, an excellent job in the last year and a half, diplomatically strengthening our relations with Croatia on the one hand, while also strengthening the (?logistic) issue.

Zagreb is our main contact not only with Croatia but also with other countries in the world as well. Our diplomats and all our officials pass through Zagreb.

But, let us say something more important: how we expect our relations with Zagreb to develop in future. You have rightly said that in geographic terms, for Bosnia Croatia is the road that leads toward the West. On the other hand, it had become very clear through our efforts, that the road to European integration, to integration into NATO for Croatia, for Zagreb leads through Bosnia.

If Croatia, that is their policy, respects the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and democratic institutions in Bosnia, it will open wider the road that will lead Zagreb toward Europe, NATO, and similar organizations.

It is clear that in the last year or maybe a little more our relations with Croatia have become more stable, but I cannot say that they have reached the level that we all feel is not only necessary but also natural.

We will continue to work toward that end, but we also expect Zagreb to do the same. Finally, I think that the Croatian people support such a policy, maybe for historical or geopolitical reasons. But I also think that the Bosnian people understand that policy as necessary and natural. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Sacirbegovic Urges Lifting of Sarajevo Blockade

AU0901204296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic today sent a letter to Admiral Leighton

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Smith, commander of the Implementation Force [IFOR], which reads as follows:

We believe that one of the basic elements of the Dayton Agreement is the cease-fire agreement of 10 October and the agreement of 12 September, whose goal was to lift the Sarajevo blockade and allow freedom of movement in and around Sarajevo. All these agreements are supposed to secure freedom of movement for civilians on at least four major routes in and around Sarajevo. Finally, in accordance with the Dayton Agreement, we request that you invest the necessary effort at least to secure freedom of movement on the Kiseljak-Ilidza-Sarajevo route.

Any checkpoint or other check on these routes represent a serious violation of the Dayton and other agreements. We do not expect you to tolerate such violations and expect you to respond to them with the appropriate measures. We are certain that you will understand that this threatens civilian life in Sarajevo, the peace process, and IFOR's efforts and mission, reads the letter addressed by Minister Sacirbegovic to Admiral Leighton Smith.

Bosnian Serbs Deny Attacking Sarajevo Tram

LD0901193096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1937 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 9 Jan (SRNA) — In connection with the news about the firing of a missile on the Muslim part of Sarajevo, the authorities in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic utterly reject the accusations that this was done by the Serbs, and resolutely demand that IFOR [Implementation Force] carry out an urgent investigation, SRNA has learned from sources close to the office of the president of the Serb Republic.

According to the same source, a request is being made of IFOR that it carry out an urgent investigation in which the Serb side would take part, in case there is a repetition of the situation following the incidents in the Merkale market and Vase Miskina Street, of which the Serbs were initially accused, though later investigations proved these accusations to be inaccurate.

The consequences of these incidents, which according to reliable evidence were stage-managed by the Muslims, were various forms of revenge against the Serb people, from economic sanctions to air strikes against the Serb Republic.

The incident in Sarajevo, in which a missile was fired at a tram in the Muslim part of Sarajevo, takes place at a time when relations between the partners in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, especially in Mostar, have been exacerbated to the brink of leading to a new military conflict.

Attack Linked to Clinton Visit

AU0901203196 Paris AFP in English 2011 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 9 (AFP) — A rocket-propelled grenade slammed into a tram in downtown Sarajevo Tuesday [9 January], killing one person and wounding 18, hospital sources and police said.

The grenade was fired from a building in the Serb-held neighborhood of Grbavica, the NATO-led peacekeeping force said.

The Bosnian Government accused the Serbs of firing the grenade as a way of preventing US President Bill Clinton from going ahead with a visit planned for this weekend.

"The message of this act of Serb terrorism is clear: The American president is not welcome in Sarajevo. We hope Mr. Clinton will not let himself be intimidated," foreign ministry spokesman Mirza Hajric told AFP. [passage omitted]

At the site of the attack, witnesses described a hellish scene.

"There was blood everywhere," said Mladen Ajanovic, a passenger who was slightly wounded. "It was terrible, the light, the noise, the explosion and the glass. I think there were several dead because I saw pieces of brain all around me."

An elderly woman said she thought such attacks were a thing of the past. "I thought there was peace now. I didn't expect this once NATO arrived." [passage omitted]

An AFP correspondent saw a body covered by a blanket inside the tram and hospital sources, and police said 18 people were undergoing hospital treatment. One of the victims was in critical condition. Reports said the fatality was a woman. [passage omitted]

NATO Cannot Stop Rocket Attacks

AU1001133896 Paris AFP in English 1253 GMT 10 Jan 96

[By Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 10 (AFP) — NATO forces stationed in Sarajevo cannot protect civilians against more rocket attacks, IFOR officials said Wednesday, a day after one woman was killed by a

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missile which smashed into a packed tram in the centre of the city.

Condemning the attack which "clearly came from a Serb area" IFOR spokesman Lt Colonel Mark Rayner said: "This was an isolated terrorist type act, something which the parties should get a grip on."

However, he said the NATO-led peace Implementation Force (IFOR) troops in the city cannot guarantee against a repeat of the incident. "IFOR does not make guarantees like that. We do not have the troops to saturate every street corner of this city. It is not our job to do that type of low-level policing. We are not going to be dragged into doing what is not our responsiblity."

Under the Dayton peace agreement, IFOR has a mandate for overseeing and enforcing compliance with the withdrawal of Bosnia's various armed forces from a zone of separation along Bosnia's lengthy former frontlines.

Wednesday morning French and Engish army ballistic experts examined the scene of attack. The tram, still with its shattered windows and gaping hole in the roof, was driven into position to help determine the exact source of fire. NATO experts at the scene said the weapon fired was a 64mm light anti-tank weapon and not an RPG-7 missile as earlier thought.

"It clearly came from one of these towers over there," one British army expert said pointing to a series of four high-rise blocks on the Serb-held side of the city.

Immediately after the incident French troops in the area loosed off several rounds of canon and fired their machine guns at the spot from where the missile was launched, Rayner said. It was a "robust and quick response" he added but said no further similar action would be taken. "IFOR is not in the game of punitive retaliation," he said.

A platoon of French IFOR troops sent to search the suspected building "flat by flat" after the attack but found none of the "several armed men" spotted in the building at the time of the attack, IFOR spokesman Lt Colonel Richard Pernod said.

Three light IFOR tanks and several armoured personnel carriers remained positioned opposite the towers Wednesday along the city's notorious sniper alley down which runs the main tramway.

Rayner blamed the incident on "ill-discipline" but denied it represented a lack of compliance of the military aspects of the Dayton peace agreement. "Across the country, the parties are complying with the military aspects of the agreement. We are seeing troops returning to barracks, tanks pulling out, guns moving out," he said.

"Clearly at the street level compliance is not good. We have got to bang heads together and the Serbs are being spoken to very strongly about this," an IFOR source said who requested anonymity.

Trams were running again in Sarajevo Wednesday and passengers waiting to catch a ride appeared resigned to their fate. "We have to use the trams, we cannot walk. We are pensioners and we have no money for taxis," said Rabija Vedackovic, 56, returning with a friend from a visit to the doctors.

But the response of the IFOR troops to the attack was not enough for Vedackovic. "IFOR is the same as UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force)," she said referring to the much maligned UN peace keeping force which handed over authority to NATO last month.

"If they wanted to they could react much more. They did react a little but their response should be stronger and quicker. They have American attack helicopters, where were they?" asked the pensioner with an ageing fox stole draped around her shoulders.

IFOR Urged To Disarm Serb Districts

AU1001155896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following yesterday's attack by Serb terrorists, who fired a rocket-propelled grenade from Grbavica at a tram, killing one and wounding 19, late last night the Sarajevo City Council held a session. They issued a statement, which was presented to the public by Sarajevo City Council Chairman Sefkija Okeric on the Sarajevo 202 program:

[Begin Okeric recording] In this statement we express our concern that the implementation of the reintegration of Sarajevo has been too slow and that last night's tragedy was closely connected to that slowness.

We request that IFOR and the representatives of the international community for the civilian implementation of the Dayton agreement speed up their activities, to disarm Grbavica and other temporarily occupied parts of the city, and thus effect reintegration.

So far we have not had any contacts with representatives of the Serb people on those territories. No initiatives have been launched and we link that to last night's development. We are afraid that if concrete reintegration is not carried out, we will have further incidents. [end recording]

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Izetbegovic Interviewed on Peace Accord, Amnesty

AU0501210096 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 4-11 Jan 96 p 3

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by OSLOBODJENJE editor in chief Mehmed Halilovic; place and date not given: "The Bridges Across the Rivers Will Be Reconstructed Sooner Than the Bridges in Souls"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After almost four years of suffering and pain, Bosnia-Herzegovina is on the threshold of peace and is even at a historical turning point. At the moment, many questions are being raised, starting with whether the forces of peace will overwhelm the forces of war, to the one in which direction the country will go during 1996 and the following years. Responding to the appeal of Mehmed Halilovic, editor in chief of OSLOBODJENJE, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, has given answers to some of these questions.

When Is Amnesty Possible?

[Halilovic] Although it seems that we are closer to peace after Dayton and the arrival of the peace agreement Implementation Force (IFOR), the reasons for war, however, have not been removed. In such an ambiance and political environment, how do you see the prospects of a lasting peace? Is one year of IFOR's involvement long enough for peace to take root?

[Izetbegovic] Some things have finally been solved by the Dayton agreement, but for some important things only preconditions have been created. Thus, for instance, a united Bosnia is not a reality, but still only a possibility. Democratic Bosnia is partly a reality, partly a possibility. It is a similar situation with the return of the refugees. Only the right to return has been established, at least when the point in question is a part under Serb control. Whether those possibilities and proclamations will come true, and at what speed their realization will be carried out, depends on many factors. One of the important factors is we ourselves, in fact, our readiness and capability to wrestle with the difficulties that will stand in our way. As far as peace is concerned, I believe it will last. I do not believe that, after everything, they would dare to attack us again, because if they did not succeed in crushing us in 1992, I cannot see how they would be able to succeed in it in the future. That is, after all, the reason why I believe that IFOR will succeed and that the peace we have today will become a lasting one.

[Halilovic] The objective which you have been pointing out on many occasions, and also during the signing of the peace agreement — a united and democratic Bosnia — includes implicitly the survival of a multiethnic society. The objective of the aggression was totally opposite — by killing the multiethnic society, they wanted to knock out the basis for the resumed reintegration of the Bosnian state. In your opinion, what are the chances of restoring mutual trust, and how long will it take to begin talking about a multiethnic society on the whole territory of the country? Is that a question of years, or generations?

[Izetbegovic] I think that the process will be long. Someone has said that the destroyed houses and bridges across the rivers will be reconstructed sooner than the bridges in the souls of the people. Unfortunately, that is so. The wounds are deep, and perhaps, with a lot of effort and good will, they will be healed. But the scars will remain, I am afraid for a long time, perhaps even forever. However, "we must get across the river."

[Halilovic] The uniting of Sarajevo is the biggest test for the implementation of the peace agreement. The international diplomacy and Western media are concerned about the safety of the Serbs in Sarajevo. As much as one can understand from your words, everybody who is not a war criminal does not have to worry. One can presume that this does not refer to all the members of the Serb army and paramilitary formations. Are there any thoughts or possible plans to proclaim an amnesty for those for whom we usually say that they have not bloodied their hands?

[Izetbegovic] That question has not been discussed, although, obviously, one can feel it in the air. I personally think that one will be able to talk about it only when the reintegration of the town will be completed. It goes without saying that the possible amnesty could refer only to those people who have not openly committed violence against their neighbors.

Divisions Are Inevitable

[Halilovic] The Bosnian state will, as seen from the peace agreement, represent some kind of a hybrid burdened with bulky apparatus and separate authorities. It is implicitly understood that such a formula is the price for the established peace. Nevertheless, in what way will this system of authority function, if we will have as many as three governments, then the state Presidency, as well as several police forces and armies?

[Izetbegovic] Neither the three governments nor the Presidency represent a problem, but the three armies do represent one. We are currently trying to reduce the three armies to two, but that will also take a lot of work, and, I am afraid, concessions. Regarding the third army, I can see no solution for the time being. It can be seen on the horizon, perhaps in some

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political changes within the Serb entity, in which the presently openly hostile army would gradually turn into a somewhat more neutral one. And peace, which by its nature diminishes the significance of the military factor, will be influential in the positive sense, but the success — or failure — of the Federation project will have the biggest influence upon the outcome of this really very complicated political and military situation that the war created in Bosnia. A strong political, social, and economic progress in the Federation would cause the collapse of the present establishment in the Serb entity. As much as the contrasts will grow bigger, that is more obvious, the process of collapse of the Serb one-nation and one-party system will be faster.

I admit that the situation in Bosnia is very complex, but the only alternative is the continuation of war. When the United States started its peace initiative, the war option became utterly risky, even dangerous. To comfort you: This is Bosnia. There are three religions, three nations, and 12 political parties. Divisions will be inevitable for a long time, the divisions of territory or authority, so you can choose. We cannot get out of our skin.

[Halilovic] The most recent incidents in central Bosnia and the request of NATO that the volunteers from Islamic countries leave Bosnia have focused this problem, too. What are the obligations of the state regarding the requests of the Western allies, and how can this decision be realized?

[Izetbegovic] There are no obligations that exclusively refer to the volunteers from Muslim countries. There is one provision that envisages the departure of all foreign troops and foreign military elements from Bosnia within 30 days from the moment of the Dayton agreement entering into force. That obligation refers to the Croatian Army, the mujahidin, and all other foreigners.

Donors Determine Purpose

[Halilovic] There have been many objections that the collection and spending of the donated funds had not been under appropriate control by the state. Can one expect that the donated funds will enter regular financial channels and be under direct state control?

[Izetbegovic] The state is entitled to control everything that is done in the country, but it cannot tell a donor how he should use his donation. The international community, which has given help to Bosnia worth billions of dollars, has not given those means to the state, but it has determined itself to what purpose donations will be used, and directed them mostly through the UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees]. A number of foreign government and non-government offices are active in Bosnia, and they distribute aid the way they think is appropriate. They think that is their right because it is their money. As far as I know, your paper also receives money from Soros, and Soros does not give money to the state, but he does it directly, and you consider that normal. Some Muslim countries have asked me to control, and in some cases even to distribute help they have been sending. I do that, and regularly inform them about it. In some cases, a check was made out to me, and I returned it, pleading to make it out to some state institution, retaining the right to control it. There have been significant amounts of money that have gone through the state institutions. As the state will grow more organized, I believe the donors will orient more and more toward it. I presume that the funds for the reconstruction of the country, which has been discussed a lot recently, will be channeled through the state, but the donors will retain their right to control, and probably to choose priorities and projects.

[Halilovic] The freedom of the mass media has from the first day of the aggression been among the characteristics of the society in the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina under control of the legitimate authorities. And that was one of the crucial reasons why we won the support of the foreign public. Many international acknowledgments and rewards have been arriving, and still are, to the address of democratic Bosnia. Unlike that, here, recently, incidents have been occurring that indicate that the threshold of tolerance toward public speech has been lowered. Attacking journalists physically is the ugliest form of expressing intolerance. What is your comment on that?

[Izetbegovic] To attack a journalist physically just because he has written something is an ugly and inadmissible thing, and it should be prevented in any way possible. However, I believe you will agree with me that there is freedom of media in Bosnia and that nobody can deny that. Neither has a paper ever been forbidden, nor has any journalist been prosecuted for something he had written, even when it was obvious lies and transparent untruths. Nevertheless, you will admit that every brawl in a cafe cannot be proclaimed a political incident just because one of the participants in the row was a journalist. A journalist also has the right to come to a cafe, to have a drink, and even to engage in a brawl; that is his human right, and it is not good to make a scandal out of it.

Surprises Are Also Possible

[Halilovic] The elections have been envisaged already for next year. What is your view of the political scene in Bosnia-Herzegovina until the elections and, of course, after the elections?

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[Izetbegovic] I do not expect anything sensational until the elections, except for some new parties and coalitions, and, of course, a vivid election campaign. It is not very proper to give election forecasts, but let me try it. First of all, I believe that so-called national parties will continue to lead the dance, but they will undergo certain changes. Apart from the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], partly at the cost of that party, a relatively strong Croatian party of pro-Bosnian orientation will be formed. In the Serb entity, the SDS [Serb Democratic Party] will fall into three pieces: the Chetnik, relatively strong faction; a bit weaker faction of Milosevic-ites; and a somewhat feeble but not unimportant pro-Bosnian faction. The SGV [Serb Civic Council], if organized as a political party, will gather the majority of the Serbs in the Federation, but that will not be a strong party. As far as the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] is concerned, if it introduces some new faces along with the old ones, and if it remains united, which again is not that certain, I believe it will attract almost all the Bosniak votes. The "chatty" parties, almost all so-called civic parties, will get a relatively small number of votes, I think less than they have in the parliament today. Kadic's liberals could be an exception, which meant something already at the communist times, as a tendency. Of course, surprises of all kinds are possible. The soul of the nation is very vulnerable and sensitive after all that has happened, so forecasts of this kind are very uncertain.

In the end, allow me to wish you, your co-workers, and your readership all the best in the New Year.

Silajdzic Announces Amnesty Decree

AU0901152196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 9 Jan 96

[Decree on amnesty, read by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at the session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republican Assembly, in Sarajevo on 9 January — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the aim of a consistent implementation of the peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina and especially to create the conditions for the return of expelled persons and restore and strengthen the mutual trust of the peoples and citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is passing a decree:

1. An amnesty is proclaimed for all persons who in the course of the war committed certain criminal acts that are punishable by the laws of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The amnesty does not apply to persons who committed war crimes and violated the international law, as specified by the statute of The Hague International War Crimes Tribunal, as well as to acts of general crime not connected to the war activities. For the acts of not responding to or evading service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the amnesty applies to all citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

2. The Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is being asked to immediately prepare and forward to the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina a proposal for the law on amnesty, pursuant to this decision.

3. The state offices are being charged, in accordance with their authorities, to take measures to return refugees and displaced persons to the territories from which they had been expelled without delay. In this sense, guarantees for the personal and property safety of the returnees and effective protection of their rights must be given. The assembly particularly demands from the international community to uphold an immediate return of expelled persons to the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Silajdzic on Peace, Mostar, Arms Production

AU0501205596 Zagreb NACIONAL in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 96 pp 9-10

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, by Sina Karli in Zagreb on 2 January: "I Do Not Oppose Croat-Bosniak Federation, But I Do Oppose Ethnic Division of Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] New Year started for Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic as busily as 1995 had ended. On the first working day of the year, passing through Zagreb, he met — as he told us at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy, where we were received — with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic. They discussed the itinerary for President Tudjman's visit to Sarajevo. Before his flight to Sarajevo, where Mr. Silajdzic was to have talks with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry and General John Shalikashvili, we spoke about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina following the establishment of peace.

[Karli] The politicians in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not hide their disappointment with the Dayton peace agreement. How do you see it? Are you satisfied with it?

[Silajdzic] I am not dissatisfied with it, as it could have been worse. The question is what various people had expected. Those who had expected that the agreement would bring complete justice and a complete defeat for Serbia saw that this did not happen. The fact, however, is that Serbia has lost the war, the greater Serbia project has definitely failed, and the integrity of Croatia and

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Bosnia is no longer under a question mark. Therefore I am satisfied, as in Dayton we managed to get the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina confirmed.

[Karli] With which parts of the agreements are you dissatisfied?

[Silajdzic] I think that some territorial solutions are unjust. It is not right to let Serbia keep control, even temporarily, over territory on which an act of genocide has been committed. It particularly hurts to see that the people who kept concentration camps in the heart of Europe before the eyes of the entire world will be able to remain in those areas. That is what I find the hardest to accept. However, justice is rare in peacetime, let alone in war. Still it would be an even greater injustice were we to try to get by force what we can get in peace. There have been too many casualties, and the people have suffered for too long.

There is also the question of what would have happened to us had it not been for the Dayton agreement. The Americans had stated openly that they would disengage significantly, the Europeans were getting ready to act in the opposite direction, so it was questionable whether, in that constellation of power, anything more than Dayton could have been achieved. The fact is that many geopolitical developments had overlapped: from the U.S. internal relations to the changes in France, from the pacification of London to the new situation in Russia, and the activating of Germany. All of this suddenly converged on Bosnia. I think that the Dayton talks happened at the right time.

[Karli] Will the Serbs comply with their obligations from the Dayton agreement to surrender Sarajevo? Is the Sarajevo government trying hard enough to keep the Serbs in Sarajevo?

[Silajdzic] I think that IFOR [Implementation Force] will take care of that part of the job. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, that is, the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities have no intention of proving anything to anyone any more. Declarations and words are worth little, deeds are far more important. Over the last four years Bosnia has been dragged through the Stone Age, and we still managed to prove — of course, when I talk about the authorities in Sarajevo I mean primarily the Bosniak authorities — that we are a civilized nation. Even here, in Croatia, there are people who know nothing about Bosnia, and people who are very prejudiced against it. Many people in Europe, and our neighbors, too, were surprised when they realized that this is a civilized nation, that Bosnia is very specific. After all, Bosnia-Herzegovina is an ancient Illyrian creation. It is not an administrative but an organic entity since it has roots in the long past. It is a country that used to be a dissident in Europe — the Bosnian Church was called heretic. Bosnia was the center of this dissident movement, and it is paying the price for it even today. Before the people of Bosnia started being called Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, they were called Bosnians, and good Bosnians at that. That is why I believe in the future. I believe that the springs from which Bosnia can draw are still not muddied.

What I want to stress with this story is this: No one can count on dividing Bosnia. The Serbs have failed and they had the entire Yugoslav People's Army at their disposal. They will never have such a chance again.

Mujahidin Will Leave

[Karli] Will most Serbs leave forever the Sarajevo districts that they have to hand over? Would this have a negative effect on the peace agreement?

[Silajdzic] Why should they leave them? Those who are afraid can thank the Serb propaganda for that. The fact is that many Serbs do live in Sarajevo. The chairman of our assembly is a Serb. The Serbs living in Sarajevo are not just for show; they are not decorative Serbs. They are there, they are our neighbors. One minister in my government is a Serb. If the Serb population continues to listen to Serb propaganda, there will be more trouble. There is constant talk about Serb districts in Sarajevo. These are not Serb districts. In Ilidza, for example, Serbs made up 37 percent of the population, in Vogosca 35 percent, Ilijas had a Serb majority of 45 percent, and they made up 26 percent of the population of Hadzici. These percentages show that these are not Serb districts. Since there is a freedom of choice, and I firmly believe in it, the people who do not believe in the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina can leave. It is up to us as the authorities to establish equal rights for all the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am in favor of a civic state because it eliminates ethnic differences, and every citizen has equal rights.

[Karli] Do you think that the mujahidin currently in Bosnia, and the intensified Bosnian fundamentalism can be an obstacle to the peace process? What are the relations between Sarajevo and the Islamic countries like after the Dayton agreement?

[Silajdzic] Bosnia-Herzegovina is a small country that wants to have good relations with everyone. Every diplomatic link is valuable. We intend to maintain the very good diplomatic relations that we have with the Islamic countries. As for the so-called mujahidin, there is only a small number of them. The whole affair has been exaggerated for many reasons. The Belgrade propaganda particularly excelled in this. That is where the story about 10,000 mujahidin in Bosnia came from.

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and this was presented as if they were a danger to civilization. There are several hundred mujahidin, and many will leave. Only some will stay, those who have families in Bosnia will probably stay as ordinary citizens as happens after every war. In other wars, too, for example in the Spanish civil war, there were people from other countries who came to fight. Everyone is asking about the mujahidin, but no one is asking about the Russian mercenaries fighting for the Serbs. The mujahidin are a current issue. The Western countries are insisting on it, and we have taken on the responsibility in Dayton to solve it, and we will.

[Karli] There has been a lot of talk recently about rifts between you and Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic. What is this all about? Has Mr. Sacirbegovic resigned from the post of foreign minister?

[Silajdzic] There are no rifts between us. As for his resignation, it is only a media resignation. He has not handed it to me as prime minister.

Shot at Civilization

[Karli] How do you see the situation in Mostar, and the latest disagreements about the territorial division of the districts?

[Silajdzic] Why the divisions? Mostar has to remain a united city of all its citizens. If it does not, then we are rewarding everything that has happened in the war. The people who destroyed the Old Bridge wanted to divide the city forever. So when we speak about the division of districts we are encouraging these people. Mostar can be divided only administratively, not ethnically, absolutely not, since that would be a step back in civilizational terms. We are forced to live together, whether we want to or not, whether we love each other or not. We will never overcome our differences if we start dividing districts into Croat ones and Muslim ones. That would only assist those who fired at the Old Bridge, and their shots at the Old Bridge were shots at civilization. I have to admit honestly that I had not expected that from the Croat right wing. If I ever get on Belgrade television, I will also ask the Serbs whether everything that has happened has been their last rebellion against civilization or whether they intend to assault it again, whether they have had enough after destroying over 1,000 religious shrines in Bosnia or whether they will again want to destroy things in 10 years time just because they have nothing better to do. I have said to the Serbs time and time again: "For as long as you feed your children on hatred against us and the Croats, you will never amount to anything."

[Karli] Do you believe that the refugees will be able to start going back home under the auspices of the international forces?

[Silajdzic] Yes, although very slowly and with difficulties. This is really the greatest problem, but a number of them will return. I doubt that all of them will ever go back. It largely depends on us and the international community, the logistics and the propaganda.

[Karli] Is the government in Sarajevo prepared to hand to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague the Muslims accused of war crimes? Have there been any such demands?

[Silajdzic] There have been no such demands yet. If there are, we will hand over war criminals since we, just like the others in the conflict, have taken on that obligation. No one can play games with this. Those who have committed war crimes have to be held accountable for them.

[Karli] What do you think IFOR will achieve in its one-year mandate?

[Silajdzic] A year means a lot for Bosnia, and I think that a lot of things will be solved during that period. The most important thing is that there is a democratic shift in people's minds during the period of the country's reconstruction. There is a verse that says that God does not change the state of a nation until that nation changes itself. That is why the most important thing is to change the way of thinking, and the elections are very important in that respect. They will be held in six to nine months, and give the people the freedom of choice.

[Karli] Is that enough time for all the preparations for the elections? Will communications in Bosnia be ready by then? Will the television and the other media have access to every home?

[Silajdzic] There will be many difficulties, but I think that we will prepare the elections in time.

[Karli] In your view, will Bosnia really function as one state after the one-year IFOR mandate?

[Silajdzic] I have no doubt about that. Why should Bosnia be divided during that one year when it could not be divided by force? No one should doubt the unity of Bosnia. No one should hope to divide it. Bosnia will never be divided.

[Karli] Will Bosnia start developing its own arms industry, and revive, perhaps, the production in Vogosca?

[Silajdzic] Arms production has already begun. As you know, Vogosca was one of the most important links in the Yugoslav arms production, and we of course intend

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to continue this production. Unfortunately, we live in a region where we can only achieve balance with our own arms production. Therefore, we will continue to produce arms in Vogosca, but we will switch some facilities to civilian production.

[Karli] Are the Croat-Muslim relations developing well? How is the federation going?

[Silajdzic] I think the relations are increasingly better. I believe in the federation. After all, I worked hard on it. I have discussed it in great detail with Mate Granic. However, I have to stress that it is a federation of cantons, a pluralistic democratic federation, not a federation on ethnic territories. I am having problems with people who do not see it this way. In Washington we did not agree on a federation of ethnic territories since that would have meant the division of Bosnia. We agreed on a federation of cantons, a truly democratic creation. I know I am often seen as an opponent of the federation, but I am only an opponent of the federation of ethnic territories. I believe that the concept of cantons will win in the end, and I am sure that the Croats and Bosniaks will develop their relations and achieve many things together. We have to establish close ties with the Serbs in Bosnia, those of them who feel it is their homeland. We have to be aware of the fact that we are very little in a large world, that we have not developed properly over the last few years, and that we will catch up with the world only if we join forces.

Karadzic Addresses Bosnian Serbs on Christmas

LD0601162996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 6 Jan 96

[Address by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, in Sarajevo on 6 January]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 6 January (SRNA) — "On the occasion of Christmas, the new year 1996, the republic's patron saint day — St. Stephan's Day — and the fourth anniversary of our young state, I send greetings to the Serbian people in the long-suffering Serb Krajina [in Croatia] and the Bosnian Serb Republic [RS], as well as the entire Serbian nation in the homeland and in diaspora.

"The establishment of this peace and the end to our five-year long struggle bring to a close an epoch in the Serbian history, the epoch of difficult struggle for liberation and unification, which started with Karadjordje's uprising in 1804.

"During 200 years of struggle we lived through many trials and tribulations mainly because of our own weaknesses and failings, discord and lack of perseverance.

"Many blessed victims, known and unknown knights, fell so that the Serbian nation can finally join the society of happy and well- ordered nations.

"It has fallen on our generation to start and endure the last five-year-long phase of the political and armed struggle, which started after several decades of political, spiritual, cultural and economic humiliation of the Serbian people on a part of a dictatorial regime, which had managed considerably to alienate and impoverish the Serbs culturally, spiritually and economically.

"Have we managed to accomplish this task?

"During the past five years we have showed everything we know and can do, all our strengths and all our weaknesses.

"We have been united and strong, we have surpassed others and ourselves, we have won the admiration of the world and our friends and enemies with our dignified and selfless resistance to the new world order, which favoured our enemies and their genocidal plans against the Serbs.

"Our soldiers, many of whom have become noble victims, have preserved the honor of our ancestors, and all glory and honor for all our achievements belongs to them and their tolerant and selfless families."

"The whole of our people, pensioners, educational and health workers, workers, peasants, the families of killed soldiers, children and young people — everyone in the Serb Republic — has displayed heroic courage, endurance, commitment and devotion to the struggle for the state, and contributed a great deal to the gain and recognition of the state.

"Our weaknesses, which accompany us like a centuries-old destiny, again reappeared as disunity at a crucial juncture, when we had liberated almost all centuries-old Serb territory.

"The enemy, despite being allied to virtually the whole world, was on its knees; the Serb land had been taken away from it; it had been thwarted in its efforts to repeat genocide, and only a little Serb will and determination was needed to unite the Serb lands and thus end the epoch-making job, and bring off an epoch-making success in terms of achieving full liberation and unification, which continues to be our sacred objective.

"Instead of victory, what we had in the Serb camp was discord and a reluctance to follow authentic national aspirations and finally make a nation out of the Serb people. A nation equal to any other European nation.

"In seeking to justify our own actions, and the lack of loyalty to each other, we used old ideologies and

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rumours which ruined the authority of the state and its leaderships. All other arsenals were used by those who cannot hold out on the right road and so resort to alibis which history can see through and correctly assesses to be a pusillanimous justification for the betrayal of national goals.

"The measures which we introduced against each other weakened our own nation to such an extent that we lost much of what we had gained and were in danger of losing everything. Despite the chivalrous bearing of our soldiers — by committing fateful mistakes — we allowed ourselves to be defeated by those who have never conquered anyone. We allowed those who do not belong there, and who have purged us from these areas over the centuries in a genocide-like manner, to take pure Serb land and areas which do not belong to them.

"Thus, hopefully temporarily, the greater part of the Republic of Serb Krajina has disappeared, and part of the Drvar Krajina [western Bosnia], the Neretva River valley and other areas have been temporarily lost.

"Although we were successful in defending them militarily, we politically lost our centuries' old homes in Sarajevo, which our ancestors guarded over five centuries of Turkish occupation, and which we will have to regain in the course of a long, persistent and uncertain political struggle.

"Neglecting Serbdom as a whole and a united approach in defense of its interests, we abandoned parts of this Serbdom to its fate and turned back the people from their final success, the biggest a nation can achieve. Thus we have left a a lot of unfinished things for the coming generations.

"However, at the time of the festivities, both sad and joyful, we must not forget what we have achieved. The victims have not been in vain. The Serb Republic was created and recognized, a centuries' old dream of the Serbs west of the Drina.

"It is not as big as it could have and should have been, but it is big enough to take on all the Serbs west of the Drina and all the Serbs lost in the world, neglected and rejected because of their ideological misconceptions [zablude], and all the Serbs who would like to and can contribute to the overall recovery of Serbdom and the consolidation of Serb statehood. "After difficult experiences through which we have lived because of our tragic misconceptions, we must stick to our virtues and values which place us among prominent nations.

"We must therefore embark on a path which will keep us well away from ruin forever. We must strenghten our harmony, based on respect, democracy and freedom, as that is how we shall gain the right to have our best and most beautiful traditions, traditions of the Orthdodox Christendom and the Serbian national treasury.

"We must unite our forces and embark on the recovery of Serb national dignity with clear aims and intentions. By consolidating a law-governed state and free society, we must eliminate a possibility of anyone — with old misconceptions and ideologies of failure and alientation — leading us astray again and hindering our development, making us once again lag behind other peoples.

"We must facilitate - for our soldiers, families of killed soldiers, disabled and all our families - psychological, economic and all other kinds of recovery from the efforts and losses which we have suffered.

"All our national riches should be given to them and they should be distributed to them through a fair privatization. We must urgently, through social measures, achieve social justice and recovery. Yet we should not permit, by means of the vague and outmoded ideas of social equality, a system which has abused all notions of justice and equality and held us in poverty and humiliation to return.

"We should facilitate the rule of Serb and general humanitarian values by introducing the rule of law. To those who complain that we are too mild, we must reply that those who run the country should be restrained, but laws should be strict and people should abide by them strictly.

"By creating a free society with a market economy, a modern economic system, low taxes and full legal, property-based and personal security, we should become attractive to all Serbs throughout the world and to all other people who are ready to invest capital and know-how in the construction of a small, free, Serb, European country.

"We call on all Serbs, who might have for some reason abandoned the fatherland at some time, to come and find the fatherland in a free Serb Republic.

"We call on the international community not to frustrate us in all our noble aims and respect us and recognize our right to free development. We call on the other Serb lands to work for true rapprochement, which will heal fraternal wounds and lead to final unity.

"I send my greetings to everyone on the occasion of the first Christmas in peace time, and in a recognized Serb Republic. I want God's peace to be with us and amongst us, and God to bring us peace, happiness and a heavenly abode for the souls of those who created this peace and this state. I hope that from this Christmas onwards Serb time is calculated as a new time of peace, harmony and the blossoming of the nation.

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"In sending you greetings on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of our state and the day of the Serb Republic's patron saint, St Stephan, who was the guardian and patron saint of the Serb state of King Dusan, I call on you to raise your glasses, your hearts and your heads, because we have persisted along the road of our forefathers and because we still have plenty of noble national work to do.

CHRIST IS BORN!" [block capitals as received]

Karadzic, Krajisnik Speak 9 Jan

LD0901192596 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On the occasion of St. Stephan, the patron saint of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, Metropolitan Nikolaj of Dabro-Bosnia conducted a holy lithurgy in the Church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin in Pale this morning.

Apart from a large number of faithful, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic, Serb Republic Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik, Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic, Deputy Prime Minister Velibor Ostojic, Ministers Aleksa Buha, Dragan Bozanic, and Dragan Kalinic attended the service.

On the occasion of the Serb Republic patron saint day, the traditional patron saint cake was blessed in the presence of the state leadership in the presidential building at noon. [passage omitted]

[Begin Karadzic recording] Dear brothers and sisters from the Serb Republic, our soldiers [passage indistinct] from America, diaspora, and allow me not to mention everyone in order not to forget to mention everyone.

This time last year we celebrated St. Stephan and two days of holy Christmas in hope that we would celebrate the next and all future Christmases and patron saint days in peace. [passage indistinct] their own freedom and their own state and not in slavery. [passage indistinct]

We might have wanted a little bit larger and a little bit different state and a little bit higher degree of independence, but not every wish can be fulfilled right away.

Having taken everything into account, it seems to me that our generation has made solid foundations for further progress. Our generation has created and has given birth to a Serb state west of the Drina River. Many people in our generation did not even believe that communists will stop ruling. They did not even believe [words indistinct] their people. Many of us were [passage indistinct] the result of our life-path will not amount to much [passage indistinct].

But the Lord wished something different, he gave wings to the [?brave], [word indistinct] gave happiness, strength. The exploit has been achieved.

But at this moment of celebration, it seems that there is more sorrow, sadness, I cannot say dissatisfaction, but more sorrow and sadness, because each year must count all sacrifices made for this result, because otherwise this is not counting the costs. Any cost- counting exercise must also take into account what we have lost above all in terms of manpower and materials.

And we have lost the best. A lot of children have been orphaned. Some 17,000 families are in mourning, because that is the number of soldiers that have been killed. We have a large number of invalids, wounded people, people [words indistinct] for whom the Dayton Agreement has wiped out satisfaction from their faces [passage indistinct].

Talking of Dayton, I must say that it also casts a shadow over our festive mood because our state could have, should have, and must have looked somewhat different; maybe we should not have lost some of regions that we have lost. But, at the moment when we were loosing them, we had against us immeasurable forces. Our hands were tied, without any possibility of producing, purchasing, or obtaining means of defense, and there was a major force against us [word indistinct], not counting NATO, the Rapid Intervention Force, and the United Nations.

Serbs are always left with an unfinished Dobrun, as Mr. Krajisnik, who had to leave, says. Karadjordje was left with an unfinished Dobrun, he went to sleep, to rest, peace found him there, and he could not have crossed the Drina.

This generation has definitely liberated Dobrun and most of the Drina. But we have other Dobruns left; the valley of the Neretva, an area in Posavina and especially a great area in Krajina, Grmec, Podgrmec, Sanski Most, Kljuc, Petrovac, Drvar, Glamoc, Grahovo, Srbobran, and Jajce. Especially Glamoc, Grahovo, Drvar, and Petrovac are almost entirely, almost a 100 percent pure Serb territories, for centuries have been Serb territories, a cradle of Serbdom. There are fewer Serbs left there than the ones who have left for other Serb lands.

Those are our Dobruns and this we will, in all probability, leave for future generations.

I do not wish for our generation to go to war again. Let some future generation solve those Dobruns.

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God has arranged it in such a way in life that a woman brings her child into the world in great pain, but once she delivers she forgets all pain and smiles. I think our generation has the right and the reason after this difficult and painful labor, to smile again, to raise its head, and to go on.

And this generation has chosen, it knows which way and where to go — to freedom, to democracy, to the family of happy and settled nations, through democracy and a free market economy, which is not unknown to the Serb nation.

Until the Communist revolution Serbs were a nation of good heads of households. And a nation of good heads of households means free economy, market economy, because our nation has always lived like that.

In the name of that which is born and that has to be nursed, not forgetting the ones that we are grateful to and to whom we owe all this, I raise this glass and I ask you to smile. [end recording]

Congratulating the first patron saint day in freedom, Serb Republic Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik has said that it must not be forgotten that we have what we have thanks to those who gave their lives for the Serb Republic. Talking about the future, speaker Krajisnik has said:

[Begin Krajisnik recording] We are facing a period of reconstruction and struggle for a Serb state. We must not relax, we must not allow for us to win a state in war and loose it in peace in a naive way, as has happened so many times in our history. We must finish this state. Like any house that was built, we must furnish it, decorate it and make it into a warm home for all people and it must serves its purpose.

I hope that our enemies, our friends, and our people see that this should be a happy occasion. There are still unfinished tasks. We have a difficult problem: Serb Sarajevo. I hope that, if God allow us, we will finish this, too.

And as I told your TV colleagues just a few moments ago, I wish us to rejoice with all our hearts, because a nation gets a state once in its lifetime.

And, thank God, we have moved Serbia onto the left side of the Drina River. And a century-long dream of our people that this becomes a Serb state has been achieved.

All those who criticize us, who say we are criminals, that we are the aggressors and the like, must understand that our struggle has been crowned and that the international community has recognized us, has recognized that the Serb Republic, a Serb state exists here, a Serb state that not just has this attribute, but it is a people's and national state that will be developed and consolidated by the people. [end recording]

Karadzic Sees Pale as Serb Administrative Center

AU0801134796 Paris AFP in English 1341 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Jahorina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jan 8 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Monday the Serb stronghold of Pale could be turned into a cultural center for Sarajevo's Serbs nervous of their impending reintegration into a unified Bosnian capital.

Speaking to journalists ahead of a meeting with Sarajevan Serb leaders, Karadzic said Pale could be developed into an administrative and cultural center to reassure the Serbs that their subjugation to government control would not leave them isolated.

"We are discussing with the intellectuals of Serb Sarajevo about what is going to happen to the people down there" in Sarajevo's suburbs, Karadzic said ahead of the meeting with Serb intellectuals in Jahorina, located on the outskirts of the Bosnian capital.

The Serb leader added the meeting would broach the fate of Sarajevo's Serb population who will come under the authority of the Moslem-Croat Federation on March 20, in line with the Bosnia peace accord.

Karadzic said he wanted to build a university, a clinic and other institutions in Pale "because the Serbs are not confident about visiting common institutions down there."

"There was too much bloodshed and we would need 20 years to build up confidence," he said.

Pale is located about 18 kilometers (about 11 miles) east of Sarajevo and is considered the capital of the self-styled Bosnian Serb Republic.

Karadzic said that although he wanted the capital's Serb population to keep living in Sarajevo, "they are not going to invest in those parts which don't belong to the Serb Republic."

Izetbegovic Wants 'European Tehran'

LD0801145196 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 8 January (SRNA) — The president of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, said at today's meeting of Serb Sarajevo intellectuals held on Mt. Jahorina that it was necessary to defend the city politically and show the world that Serbs did not want Muslim rule in their municipalities.

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"Our task is to enable the population to stay in Serb Sarajevo without accepting Muslim rule. Sarajevo Serbs cannot help feeling insecure and that is why we must jointly find a solution," Karadzic said.

He said that "the Serbs forced the world to accept the fact that Sarajevo was not besieged because they have been living in the city for centuries." [sentence as received]

"If the people leave, 1 million to 1.5 million Muslims will settle in the area between Sarajevo and Visoko," Karadzic said, and warned that Alija Izetbegovic "wants to make Sarajevo a European Tehran, in which a fundamentalist regime would be in power."

"There would be no way to stop this fundamentalism and Islam would spread. Turkey's ambitions would then grow and it would want to return to the Balkans as a regional power or force of occupation," Karadzic said, and added:

"Serb Sarajevo must be developed through a great concentration of economy, intellectuals, universities, and other institutions in order to halt the gradual loss of Serb territories. Without a strong Serb Sarajevo there will be no Serbs in the city. We do not want to go and we do not accept Muslim rule. We have to put the ball back into the international community's court because it is also responsible for the resolution of the problem."

Karadzic said that the peace agreement reached in Dayton came like a bolt from the blue and added in conclusion:

"If we leave Sarajevo in groups and in chaos, the international community would be ashamed for only a few weeks and then everything would be forgotten. Serb Sarajevo has a right to the Serb Republic as long as it is in a union with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation."

Belgrade Architects on Serb Sarajevo

LD0801225496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2154 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 8 Jan (SRNA) — A project for the construction of a new part of Serb Sarajevo, which was devised by the Studio company from Belgrade and experts from leading design bureaux from Belgrade, was presented in Bistrica hotel in Jahorina.

Project leader Professor Ivan Antic and chief architect Tihomir Obradovic explained in detail the projected expansion of the future city and also presented its model.

Radovan Karadzic, the president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS], Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik, Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic, and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha attended the presentation.

According to Obradovic, it is planned that the entire urban part of Serb Sarajevo be designed as a single city with three or four zones.

The first urban zone will be built on the Lukavica-Kasindo-Tilava locality; the second on Ablakovo Polje-Pale-Ljubogosta; and the third on Sumbulovac-Pustopolje-Mokro, while the fourth, auxiliary zone will spread between foothills of Mt. Romanija to Sokoc. [passage omitted]

Kasagic on German, French Help

AU1001171296 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the Serb Republic, has said that the drawing up of a social program and the resolving of the refugee issue are the main tasks for his cabinet.

In view of the large number of unsolved accommodation problems for refugees and families of soldiers killed in the war, as well as disabled war veterans, we will be carrying out a rationalization of housing facilities, which is why the Ministry for Refugees has been formed, the prime minister said. He specified that accurate indicators of the housing facilities available will be obtained through automatic data processing, after which they will be distributed according to priorities, adding that the issue of damages for the refugees should also be resolved.

According to Kasagic, the problem of Serb Sarajevo cannot be solved without the help of Serbia and the FRY. The FRY and France have promised to help us solve this problem, which means that a new city should be built in this area, Kasagic explained.

As far as foreign investment in the Serb Republic is concerned, Kasagic said that certain talks were being held with Greece on this issue. Greece is willing to take part in the reconstruction and development of the Serb Republic.

Serbs Request Extension To Implement Accord

LD1001222896 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A session is under way in Serb Sarajevo of the Commission for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement for the City of Sarajevo, chaired by Momcilo Krajisnik, the speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic. The conclusions

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adopted at the previous session were submitted in written form to Carl Bildt. The deadline for the international community's reply concerning the extension of the deadline for the implementation of the peace agreement expires tomorrow. High Representative Carl Bildt was informed about a request for extending the deadline to 15 September.

The letter also says that the Serb people in Sarajevo will not accept Muslim power and that — if no changes take place — they will start an exodus.

It is also said that a number of people who have nowhere to go will organize themselves and put up armed resistance to the introduction of the Muslim-Croat rule. In this way we will get a European Beirut. [passage omitted]

A request was submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs to prevent illegal trade with the enemy side. The commission will be in permanent session over the next few days.

Krajisnik Expects Reply

AU1001132896 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 8 Jan 96

[Telephone report by Snjezan Lalovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Admiral Leighton Smith, when asked about the meaning of Karl Bildt's statement that the prolonging of Dayton deadlines depends on him, i.e. on the military structure in charge of implementing the agreement, answered that after a 90-day period the transfer of authority can but does not necessarily have to be performed. He said that it depends on many circumstances, and he will make possible changes regarding the matter in the period that follows having consulted his aides.

Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serb Republic Assembly, recalled that he expected a reply from Karl Bildt on the possibility that the Serbs might remain in Serb Sarajevo with political authority over the city that they managed to defend in the war. He emphasized that the war began as a result of the Muslims' desire for domination over other nations. Furthermore, the chairman of the Serb parliament said that the Serbs will not live under Muslim rule, and he asked how it was possible that, when the Serbs demand a solution to their problem, there is nobody they can contact and ask for help, while the Muslims showered numerous world organization with their problems for three years.

Journalists were also told that a full agreement was reached on freedom of movement along the road from Kiseljak to Sarajevo without checkpoints. According to Adm. Smith, IFOR [Implementation Force] will continue to help the civilians regarding their safety although they are not a police force. The meeting participants unanimously condemned the shots fired during the Christmas holidays and the fact that IFOR aircraft were put into danger, while Adm. Smith warned that units under his command have a right to use force when they are in immediate danger.

Krajisnik on 'Hypocritical' International Community

BR0801125596 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 6 Jan 96 p 4

[Report by Francesco Battistini: "A Wall To Divide Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo — Apologies to Italy. Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament, arrived at Vogosca's Park Hotel a few steps away from the hotel-barracks of the Garibaldi Brigade: For the past three weeks, since all trace of President Radovan Karadzic has been lost, he has been in charge in Pale. And it is he who agreed to meet with three Italian reporters, to discuss the shots fired at our soldiers. "I am sorry," the regime's new man said; "we will do all we can to investigate the matter. All the evidence suggests to us that it was not a Serb who fired the shots. The Serbs welcomed the Italians in a friendly manner, because much of the aid and support received from abroad came from Italy. Everyone here is glad that the Italians are here. This, even though they cannot entirely rule out an individual act. Our local authorities will provide your soldiers with the necessary help for the inquiries."

So, after the shots from the Kalashnikov, the olive branch. Everyone is trying to cool the situation. And even within our own contingent, while Corporal Elio Sbordoni flew back to Rome, orders were to play things down. The inquiry has established that the other night the Italians responded to the fire with four or five shots — the first fired by NATO troops, NATO spokesman Mark Reyner stressed. "But it was no ambush," according to our men, who hastened to explain that the woman who appeared shortly before the shooting had nothing to do with the snipers.

Krajisnik's tone was very different from Karadzic's customary tone: "I do not want to say anything bad about the enemy, and I will not do so before awaiting the results of the inquiries." Nevertheless the climate in Sarajevo is red-hot. No less than 120,000 Serbs want to leave Vogosca and the other seven neighborhoods identified in the Dayton accords. "This is a peace agreement that we did not want," Momilo Krajisnik observed. "The Muslims put pressure on the international community to

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reach this solution, and the burden must rest on the international community. It is neither honest nor sufficient to ask us merely to remain here. We cannot stay, because the real reason for the war has not been resolved. The war began because the Muslims wanted to impose their authority over the Serbs. Now it is the same: They want to govern. Peace is here, and we are glad. But even if the problem of who holds power has been resolved throughout Bosnia, it has not been resolved in Sarajevo. The international community is hypocritical in this regard."

The Italian troops came to Sarajevo convinced that they were defending peace. And instead someone fired at them. The danger is that they will come to be regarded as an active party in a bloodthirsty conflict. The Bosnian Serbs' new public leader defined what he regards as the character of our presence, which also provides a basis for assessing the degree of risk: "Your soldiers are here to maintain the peace, but they have nothing to do with the problem of power. The question is, who will be in charge? Mostar, for instance, belongs to the Muslim Croat federation, but it is split in two. We say that unless the problem of power in Sarajevo is resolved, we must leave here." So the idea is to erect a wall, as was done for decades in Berlin. "We want the Serbs' education, culture, and welfare to be under Serbian control. If this is not so, UN mediator Carl Bildt (with whom a delegation of ours is meeting now in Ilidza) must tell us so by 10 January. And we will leave."

Where will they go? "The international community must say where," Krajisnik said. "We demand new jobs, 45,000 containers, 10,000 caskets to exhume and carry away our dead, and compensation for the property that we will leave behind. This is envisaged by the agreement. We already have 150 refugees in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and we do not know what to do about them."

The speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament spoke with the confidence of a leader, but he did not forget to pay public tribute to his own leader: "Karadzic is still president of the Serbian Republic," he stressed, "and this is not merely my opinion, but the opinion of all. The accusations against Karadzic by the Court in The Hague are accusations against all Serbs."

Buha: 'Tricksters' Cheated Serbs at Dayton

AU1001175696 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 96 p 5

[Interview with Bosnian Serb "foreign minister" Aleksa Buha by Zeljko Simunic; place and date not given: "We Should Be Given Croatian Ravno and You Should Be Given Serbian Zavala!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksa Buha is one of the Bosnian Serbs whose name is often mentioned when one talks about possible successors to Radovan Karadzic. Foreign journalists have already been quoting Aleksa Buha for years, perhaps because of his Europeanized approach. This philosophy professor, who speaks perfect German and French, was born in 1940 between Nevesinje and Gacko [in Herzegovina].

The Serbs call him "professor" and have given him the title of the minister of foreign affairs of the "Serb Republic." Thus, at the conference for confidence-building and control that has just opened in Vienna, Buha heads the Pale delegation that caused an impasse in the talks immediately at the outset by presenting criticisms of the Dayton solutions. Our first question, therefore, referred to these Serb remarks.

[Simunic] You said that there are seven disputable points, but the conference nevertheless continued. Does that mean that you have given up your demands or that they have been met?

[Buha] I cannot give up, as these are things that will have to be cleared up. I know that this is not the right address, but people who can affect the whole issue are present here in Vienna. What I wanted was to call these people's attention at the beginning to problems that will reflect on what we are doing here. If we fail to point out these things precisely, what we are talking about will be impaired.

[Simunic] Conference chairman Istvan Gyarmati, the Hungarian diplomat at the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], has told you that what was signed in Dayton cannot now be changed. But you told all the journalists that you were presented with a fait accompli and were rushed into signing.

[Buha] This is what it was all about. The greatest problem is that the planned possible ratio of forces is 2:1 to our detriment. Well, I possess a version of the Dayton agreement envisaging a 1:1 ratio between Serb and Federation forces. This is the 19 November version, while Gyarmati has the 20 November version that does not specify the ratio, but leaves an empty space between brackets. At the last moment in Zagreb, somebody filled it in as a 2:1 ratio, which is unfavorable for us. I want to clear up who did that.

Dayton Tricksters

[Simunic] You nevertheless signed the document.

[Buha] Everything was done in haste and we could not check everything. Unfortunately, we have signed the

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document, but I wonder who the author of the game was. I have an impression that it is similar to what street tricksters do. You know how that works: They offer you something and then replace it with something else.

[Simunic] One of negotiations refer to a part of the plan that envisages that the Americans will be arming the Bosniaks and will be authorizing the Turkish Army to do so, too.

[Buha] I cannot understand this at all. We are constantly talking about disarmament, confidence measures, a balance of power, and suchlike. On the other hand, the Americans want to arm and train the Muslims! According to the plan, these Turkish instructors are denied access. I talked with Mr. Leighton Smith about that and he promised me that, as long as he is present in Bosnia-Herzegovina, there will be no training or instructors.

[Simunic] You also want to know what happened to the military agreement between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and who in fact represents Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Buha] That is extremely important; how can we feel secure with the unfavorable 2:1 ratio and the military pact with the Republic of Croatia on top of it? Does it mean that we must seek a military pact with Yugoslavia? As regards representation, the error in the Dayton agreement is that there are no transitional bodies. There used to be a paper on that but it was withdrawn.

Markale Fabricated

[Simunic] The problem of sanctions and borders bothers you. What was said at the OSCE about that?

[Buha] The sanctions apply to the Serb Republic and Yugoslavia. These are world, not to say worldwide, sanctions generally against the Serbian people. There has not been any document that was not directed against us. The sanctions are being lifted slowly. And as for borders, that is a special story. In Ohio, we negotiated over a map done on a 1:600,000 scale. The borders were drawn and General Clark confirmed that the Serbs lacked some 200 square kilometers. He said that this would be remedied by the time of the Paris conference. The separation line should have also been transferred to a 1:50,000 map. In the process of this transfer, some changes have also been made to our detriment and this in sensitive places. For example, the corridor at Odzak was narrow anyhow, but then it was narrowed even further. Then the way they made changes at Trebinje was crazy: Ravno was given to us and it is an exclusively Croatian place. On the other hand, the Zavala monastery, which is Serb, was taken away from us.... There are some other places as well and General Clark said in Paris that a commission would be formed to set things straight.

[Simunic] DER STANDARD [Viennese newspaper] has carried a report from Belgrade VREME that Radovan Karadzic alone will surrender to the The Hague Tribunal. Can you confirm this report?

[Buha] I do not believe that President Karadzic has spoken about that. After all, why would he go to The Hague? This is all a political process thought up as one of many ways to exert pressure on the Serb Republic. This is nothing new; from the very beginning affairs have been invented against us that handicapped us. It was also the case with the unfortunate events at Markale [Sarajevo market place where a Serb mortar caused a large number of deaths].

[Simunic] It has been written everywhere that Karadzic's political position is not good, his political successors are being named: Koljevic, Krajisnik, yourself, etc. What do you think about this?

[Buha] Elections will be held in six or nine months. We are going to see then who features on the lists of candidates for this post or that one. Until then, there will be no changes and there is no need for them.

Living Together Is Impossible

[Simunic] Tell us something about the problems of Sarajevo. Are you going to leave a part of it and hand it over to the Federation?

[Buha] Yes, we are going to respect the agreement. I know that there are some personal and collective tragedies there, but things are as they are. If General Smith fails to use his discretionary power to extend the period of transfer, it will have to be given over to the Federation at the end of February.

[Simunic] Do you think that living together is impossible, as the Serbs mainly claim that they will leave that part of Sarajevo?

[Buha] We can only live alongside each other. Everybody should decide for himself how he will organize his way of life. If later we feel any need for cooperation, cooperation will occur on an equal basis and on the basis of mutual interests. In my opinion, everything that is attempted to be achieved by force is not of long duration. Following the experience of several decades, there is no proper reason to keep these three peoples together in one state. We tried for 70 years and it did not work. It is honest and reasonable to let everybody decide about the kind of community that he would want to live in.

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[Simunic] It is no secret that the Bosnian Serbs would happily join the FRY. However, the international community says that there cannot be any division of Bosnia; integrity is insisted upon. What is your opinion about this?

[Buha] I do not understand why they are doing this. Insisting upon a whole Bosnia is unreasonable. I have asked all the international mediators, from top to bottom, why it is so. Most of them said the following: This is a way to save face, considering what the international community has done to Bosnia. It is an attempt to see whether joint living is possible once more. If it does not work, the world will in several years sit down at the table and examine the whole thing again. I hope that at that time it will be said that each nation should go to its own mother state and the Muslims may choose whether they will stay alone or join Croatia or Yugoslavia.

[Simunic] I understand that you were told in Germany that your status in Bosnia is like Bavaria is within Germany.

[Buha] They did say so, but it is not true. Bavaria does not have its own army or police. We are not like Scotland either; we are simply a case without precedent, a unique phenomenon.

Cooperative Serbs

[Simunic] It is being assumed that it is the Serbs who may possibly create problems for IFOR.

[Buha] The IFOR representatives thought so too, but in the meantime they have publicly stated that they are surprised by our cooperativeness, and not only cooperativeness on the part of the military and civilian authorities, but also on the part of the people themselves.

[Simunic] However, the Ilidza incident was caused by the Serbs.

[Buha] I cannot tell you anything about that as I was not in the country. However, these 16 people have been released. I suppose there will be such excesses in the future as well and the most important thing is to keep a cool head. These incidents can be remedied in a reasonable way.

[Simunic] Do you think that IFOR will stay for only one year?

[Buha] The agreement says about a year. If we are forced meticulously to keep to what was signed, we will then remind them — although I do not know in what court — that they must keep to their share of obligations. It is no problem if they stay a little longer, but if they prolong it for another year it will grow into an occupation.

[Simunic] If IFOR gives everything up and leaves, will there be war again?

[Buha] They should not have come in the first place! We should have had observers between us and the international community should have threatened only with sanctions. That would have been sufficient.

Reciprocity

[Simunic] The question of the refugees, that is, of their return is constantly being raised. Will you allow them to return to your section of territories?

[Buha] This will be done according to Geneva principles: on the basis of reciprocity, and as regards those who cannot return, just compensation has been envisaged. This means that the Federation is obligated to receive the same number of refugees as we do.

[Simunic] What will happen with imprisoned and disappeared people?

[Buha] This has been worked on. Some people have been released and the process is continuing.

Koljevic: 'West Has Acted Democratically'

LD0801172796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 8 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Jan 8 (TANJUG) — Nikola Koljevic, vice president of Serb Republic (R.S., the state of Bosnian Serbs), has said that the west has acted democratically as regards the application of the peace accord for Bosnia.

Koljevic, in an interview carried by the SRPSKA VOJSKA journal of the R.S. army, said that 'this time the west acted democratically, while there is widespread opinion among our people that its conduct is imperialist.'

He noted that the peace solution for the BiH [Bosnia-Herzegovina] was enabling the Serb, Muslim and Croat sides to decide on their fate by political means without interference on the part of those 'who have arrived to establish peace.'

'This is democratic...', said Koljevic.

He called the Muslim and then also the Croat side to halt the media war if they wanted to establish cooperation and 'if they wanted some future' and the beginning of joint parliamentary life.

Koljevic assessed that this was one of the things overlooked by Dayton, because, as he put it, people

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could not call one another aggressors while working in the same parliament or in the same presidency.

Koljevic appraised that the drina river, which flows between the R.S. and the F.R.Y., would in time turn into an administrative border.

He said that this Serb entity wanted also to cooperate with the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia on the footing of equality, entitling the Serb side to the right of veto and providing for consensus in making decisions on common questions.

'If the Muslim-Croat side wants lower-cost nutrition, without intending to import grains from Pakistan, then it will have to cooperate economically with the R.S.,' said Koljevic.

'Our goal has been limited: not to dominate over the Muslims, while theirs was unlimited: a single and unitary Bosnia under their command. They have not achieved this goal, and it is up to themselves alone how soon this creation is to fall apart...'

Koljevic stressed that President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, representing the Serb side at the peace talks, had done his utmost by the mere fact that he had, within one package, to solve the question of the sanctions, and the question of the R.S. and that of eastern Slavonija.

EU Mostar Aide: 'Grave Mistake' To Withdraw

BR0901153296 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 9 Jan 96 p 10

[Telephone interview with Oswald Schroder, Belgian representative in Mostar, by Christophe Lamfalussy in Brussels; date not given: "Mostar: The Testimony of the Belgian Representative"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The situation was stable in Mostar on Monday [8 January], following the appeals for calm made over the weekend by the Croatian and Muslim leaders, the Belgian representative on the spot, Oswald Schroder, reports in a telephone interview with LA LIBRE BELGIQUE.*

The death of a Croatian policeman on Saturday, following that of a young Muslim on 1 January, aroused concern in this city which has suffered some of Bosnia's worst destruction. Oswald Schroder, aged 38, has been a member of the European Union mission since it was set up in Mostar in July 1994. He explains the situation:

[Lamfalussy] What is NATO doing in Mostar?

[Schroder] The Spanish IFOR [Implementation Force] troops are patrolling the boulevard, Mostar's flash point. The problem is that they have no clearly defined mandate. They are acting out of goodwill. The transfer of powers from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to IFOR is not fully complete. The situation is rather vague. It is similar to our own at the beginning of our mandate: We came in here with a police force which arrived three or four months later.

[Lamfalussy] Is the closeness of 20 January, when the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna must be incorporated into the Croat-Muslim Federation, causing the temperature to rise?

[Schroder] Tension is mounting. On the Croatian side the date is feared as a danger. On the Muslim side it is arousing great expectations. Our principle remains that something will have changed on 21 January. But we have not succeeded in negotiating the borders of the six municipalities decreed at Dayton. This in fact means dividing Mostar into three Croatian municipalities on the one hand, and three Muslim municipalities on the other. Also, it has not been possible to pass the decree authorizing elections in May. So we have fallen behind on the Dayton schedule.

[Lamfalussy] Would intervention by President Tudjman still be enough to bring at least part of Croatia to reason?

[Schroder] Tudjman would not be reelected today. The Croats of Herzegovina feel betrayed by the Dayton agreements. They only trust their own leaders. The extremists are isolated. They now look to more moderate leaders, such as Mijo Brajkovic, the mayor, or Kresimir Zubak, the president of the Croat-Muslim Federation who resigned over the Dayton agreements.

[Lamfalussy] What is the dominant feeling on the Muslim side?

[Schroder] Fear. They no longer have the strength to contemplate renewed fighting. Many were ready to leave just before Dayton. They have placed great hope in these agreements.

[Lamfalussy] Will the European Union continue with its work, despite these incidents?

[Schroder] Yes, because if we become nervous, how could they then remain calm? What Europe has started here cannot be completed in two years. Bosnia-Herzegovina needs help more than ever before. The Federation is seen here as a diktat, on both the Croatian and the Muslim side. So we must help them, politically, socially and economically. Europe would be making a grave mistake if it withdrew. On the contrary, what is being done in Mostar must be extended to other towns in the Federation.

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Mostar Mayor Blames Incidents on 'Extremists'

AU0901163296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 96

[Telephone interview with eastern Mostar Mayor Safet Orucevic by unidentified studio announcer in Sarajevo on 9 January — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Studio announcer] The situation in Mostar doubtless interests all our listeners. Right now we have on the line eastern Mostar Mayor Safet Orucevic.

Mr. Orucevic, yesterday the Mostar Presidency held talks with the representatives of the state security services and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps. What did you discuss?

[Orucevic] The main topic was the calming of the situation in the city of Mostar. On our side we will do everything to avoid new incidents between the two parts of the city. We [words indistinct] everything under control and that there will be no more incidents, that the tensions in the city will slowly be relaxed.

[Studio announcer] The information that is currently available to us says that the situation in Mostar is relatively stable. Can you confirm this?

[Orucevic] I think that the situation is much better than it was. We are constantly working on new measures, perhaps to reintroduce freedom of movement to the city, since, without the freedom of movement that we had before the incidents, we cannot continue political talks on the city of Mostar, as these would just be talks under various forms of pressure. We believe, and this is the view we jointly presented yesterday, that these incidents were not caused by any demarcation problems or district borders in Mostar. These incidents were deliberately provoked by extremists who want to sabotage the Dayton agreement. These are people who want to create the illusion that coexistence is impossible between Bosniaks and Croats, people who want to undermine the Federation project and preserve the parastate of Herzeg-Bosnia. This has very little to do with Mostar or its organization.

We have said, and we will also be telling our leadership in Sarajevo, that if the Federation goes well, then there will be no problems in Mostar. Mostar will most certainly not undermine the Federation. It certainly will not be a stumbling block.

[Studio announcer] There have been a lot of uncertainties over the current status of IFOR in Mostar. What is their role?

[Orucevic] We will be requesting that IFOR, together with the European police, be present in the city of Mostar and we will keep calling for their joint patrols to ensure that groups of extremists that can undermine this precious peace are not allowed to do so. We will fight to that end and we will also fight to get the joint mixed police force formed, which the EU administration was supposed to have done a year and a half ago. We will also fight to see this police force function as the model of the police force of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We need complete support for this from our top leadership, which has unfortunately still not become completely involved in this. As for the [word indistinct] in Mostar, it [words indistinct] the leadership of the Federation.

As for the visit by Mr. Kinkel and the news that we received from Sarajevo yesterday, this is enough to give us optimism and hope that the world will take a good look at Mostar, help preserve this peace, and remove from political life all those that are trying to undermine it.

We are glad that Koschnick will be the one to point those out who represent the stumbling block to the federation. We will be asking him to arbitrate if the Croatian and Bosniak sides in Mostar cannot reach an agreement on the district borders.

[Studio announcer] We were told by your office yesterday that you had not attended the joint session at EU headquarters owing to security considerations. Mr. Brajkovic [local Croatian leader] announced the next meeting for Wednesday [10 January]. Are you going to attend that meeting?

[Orucevic] Of course we will attend that meeting, just as we have attended all the other meetings. My absence from the meeting yesterday [words indistinct] patrols [words indistinct].

Situation 'Remains Very Uncertain'

AU1001110896 Paris AFP in English 1036 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Jan 10 (AFP) — Eight rocket-propelled grenades exploded overnight in this southeast Bosnian city, where tension has mounted in recent days, a spokesman for the European Union police force in the divided city said Wednesday.

"The situation remains very uncertain," said the spokesman Howard Fox, following six grenade blasts in the Moslem-controlled eastern sector of the city and two in the Croat-held western sector.

He said the blasts in the eastern sector involved a Bosnian army barracks and civilian targets while those

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in the western sector occurred near a Croat army checkpoint along the demarcation line dividing the city.

Tension has been escalating in Mostar in recent days following the killing of a Croat police officer and a Moslem youth, who was shot dead by Croat police after he failed to stop at their checkpoint.

Last week, two Moslem Bosnian government policemen on patrol in a car were sprayed with machine gun fire from the Croat sector of town.

EU officials said they were bracing for further unrest in the troubled town in light of a planned demonstration on Wednesday by the Croat population.

"We are doing all we can to prevent this demonstration, after the death of the Croat policeman," said Fox on Tuesday.

"It could be a demonstration against everything and everyone."

Around 40 NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) soldiers were deployed in the city after the weekend shooting.

Mostar was placed under EU administration in July 1994 following 11 months of fierce fighting between the Croats and Moslems.

But since then the two communities have done little to encourage the peace process refusing to set up a joint police force as a first step toward reunification.

Mostar Croat Leader Favors Divided Town

AU1001144996 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 96 p 8

[Interview with Mile Brajkovic, ethnic Croat "Mayor" of western Mostar by Jozo Pavkovic; place and date not given: "They Say One Thing, But Do Another"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pavkovic] The current situation in Mostar resembles the one when the Croat-Muslim conflict broke out.

[Brajkovic] There are similarities, but I am convinced that the situation is completely different and that nobody is crazy enough to start another war.

[Pavkovic] Peaceful demonstrations by the families of disappeared Croatian Defense Council [HVO] soldiers are scheduled for 10 January. Will these be held?

[Brajkovic] I do not believe that they should be held, because they could be misinterpreted now. The aim of the families in these demonstrations is to exchange all those who that went missing in the 1993 clashes in Mostar, to allow an investigation into Grabovica, where the Muslim side committed a crime against Croatian civilians, and to inspect the places where HVG defenders died in June 1992 at the hands of the Serbian aggressor. Therefore, we seek unhindered work on the ground under the supervision of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Indignation and Fear

[Pavkovic] The Muslim representatives did not attend the first meeting after the incident called by Hans Koschnick [EU Mostar administrator]. However, the meeting was still held. What did you discuss?

[Brajkovic] We discussed the current situation in Mostar. The meeting was attended by European members of parliament. We briefed them on the situation in the western part of the town, where indignation reigns, as well as a fear of new incidents. Despite the Bosniaks not attending, we went ahead with the talks, because this is the only way to overcome the present situation. Talks about maps are planned for Wednesday [10 January].

[Pavkovic] Who called IFOR [Implementation Force] troops to Mostar?

[Brajkovic] The decision was made by Koschnick after consultations with both sides. IFOR only took positions on the boulevard, that is, the separation line, and will remain there until the situation calms down. Under no circumstances will IFOR be deployed deeper into the town.

[Pavkovic] Afterward the mayor of eastern Mostar called for NATO's assistance. Did this apply for Mostar as a whole or only its eastern part?

[Brajkovic] I assume that Orucevic [mayor of Mostar] called them into the eastern side because he does not have the authority to do so for the western side. Koschnick can only do this if he concludes that the situation is deteriorating drastically. But the situation is calming down and I see no need for this.

[Pavkovic] Koschnick threatened to leave Mostar together with his administration before the end of his term if the situation does not calm down immediately, did he not?

[Brajkovic] I do not think that he will do this. I even anticipate that he will stay longer, because now we must proceed with the reconstruction of the city. The funds envisaged and spent so far have not been sufficient. Koschnick will not leave before he finishes his job.

Maximum Demands

[Pavkovic] Let us return to the tragic incidents that occur as a matter of course when two delegations at the highest level try to bring their stances closer together....

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[Brajkovic] This is no coincidence. Their aim is to weaken the Croatian side in the negotiations. We are very familiar with this tactic. One thing is said, another done, and something else planned. They are constantly championing a joint life, the Federation; however, one does not sense this in reality. The case of the Salakovac hydroelectric power station is typical of this. The EU proposed a project whereby the Bosniaks and ourselves would participate with half of the employees each and divide the electricity in the same fashion. This was a moment when they could and should have demonstrated who favors a joint life. That is why the EU condemned them in Madrid.

Then Dayton came. We signed an agreement that the city will be organized according to the principle of "three plus three" municipalities. We drafted a statute, documents on elections, and then it was time for the maps. However, they came out with maximum demands that we could not accept.

[Pavkovic] What was the objective of such a policy?

[Brajkovic] They expected that, following our refusal of such a proposal, Koschnick would issue a decree and NATO would then implement it in practice. But I do not know why they expected Koschnick to act in accordance with their wishes.

[Pavkovic] What is the greatest dispute over the maps?

[Brajkovic] We proposed that the municipal boundaries should follow the separation lines, as the Federation borders had been established. Naturally, we were not completely unyielding and said that we were willing to accept minor alterations. But they rejected this. However, all disputes will have to be resolved in the talks in a tolerant atmosphere, acknowledging certain realities on the ground. The most important thing is that the boundaries are being drawn on the table. I am convinced that in this region they will never again be drawn by arms.

Two Architectures

[Pavkovic] The boulevard will, nevertheless, most probably divide Mostar and also two civilizations?

[Brajkovic] Would it bother anyone if in some 10 years' time we saw two types of architecture along this street. One alongside the other? Freedom of movement is the important thing. Everybody will go where it best suits him.

[Pavkovic] Koschnick stated two days ago that the division of Mostar would deal a fatal blow to the Federation.

[Brajkovic] This is all a question of how people view the Federation and its setup. Mostar cannot be viewed torn out of context. Take the refugees, for example: There are 16,000 refugees in our part. If you return the Bosniaks to their homes, you must return these refugees to Vares, Bugojno, Jablanica, etc. Therefore, when this and all the other problems are solved throughout the Federation, it will automatically happen in Mostar, too.

Besides, the Croats only have Mostar as a bigger town. The Muslims have Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica and the Serbs Banja Luka. In this half of our Mostar there live 9,000 Muslims and 2,000 Serbs. Only 50 Croats live in eastern Mostar. Now you tell me who is the one implementing all these "multi" things that the other side champions so declaratively?

[Pavkovic] The public speculates that the EU is investing more money in eastern Mostar, which is linked to the sympathies for that side.

[Brajkovic] EU policy overlaps with the policy of the Bosniaks. Therefore, they favor a multi-ethnic town in the manner I have specified. Mostar cannot be divided because it is a small town; however, it must be organized on some other principles than those that applied under communism. We have sought our municipalities to protect all the nations, and that is what we got in Dayton. The problem now lies with the Muslims, who have signed the agreement but do not wish to honor it. It appears that they were saying one thing but meant another.

We Honor Agreements

[Pavkovic] You emphasize that you are satisfied with the Dayton agreement concerning the setup of Mostar. Why then the assertion that Croatian policy is constantly yielding to Muslim demands?

[Brajkovic] Perhaps because of the lack of information. There is a limit beyond which we will not go, but whatever we sign we are willing to put into practice. I would say that precisely for the sake of better information all the media should report more on all the positive things that we do. We are facing the task of employing 9,000 people in the economy. We must create more jobs. What shall we do with the young men who will be demobilized now? That is what should be reported. Do not seek us out only on such occasions.

[Box 1, p 8]

Perfidious Policy

[Pavkovic] The deadlines agreed in Dayton, therefore, have not been honored in Mostar, have they?

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[Brajkovic] We were supposed to pass a statute by 31 January. However, the agreement was violated, because the Muslim side anticipated the following scenario: We cannot agree. Koschnick is to arbitrate and in some 20 days there will be freedom of movement. In this way they would perfidiously get the whole town. It is already clear now that the second deadline (20 January), when unhindered movement for everyone (including those eligible for national service) to both parts of Mostar is scheduled to begin, will not be honored.

Croat March Called Off

AU1001170996 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Jan 10 (AFP) — A controversial protest march by relatives of Croat war victims here was abandoned at the last minute Wednesday after a wave of explosions and small arms fire, the town's EU police spokesman said.

Howard Fox said the march planned for the mid-afternoon was called off amid rising tension in the divided town which has been administered by the European Union since July 1994.

EU authorities had branded the march, along demarcation lines separating the town's Croat and Moslem populations, as provocative and "against everything and everyone."

Mostar was the scene of heavy fighting between Croats and Moslems in 1993 and 1994 before it was taken over by the European Union.

However tension has risen again and a Moslem and a Croat were killed in clashes between the two communities last week.

More shots and explosions were heard overnight. The assailants were "hitting with skill and planning a military target," Fox said.

Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak was expected in the town Thursday to try to ease tensions and use his influence on Croat militias, the town's Croat mayor Safet Orucevic said.

He said Susak enjoyed "considerable" influence in the west of the town run by the Croats (the east has a Moslem mayor) and "committed himself personally to helping re-unify" Mostar by co-signing an annex to the Dayton peace accord on Mostar.

EU's Koschnick Repeats Threat To Resign

AU1101102296 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 10 Jan 96

[Telephone interview with EU administrator Hans Koschnick in Mostar by studio announcer Ingrid Thurnher on 10 January — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Thurnher] One man who is personally making efforts for reconciliation in Mostar is Hans Koschnick, a former mayor of the German city of Bremen. He is in Mostar at the order of the EU and is trying to bridge the alienation and hatred between the Croats and Muslims in the town. Before our newscast, we managed to get through to Hans Koschnick in Mostar on the telephone. Asked whether, in his view and given his experience, the Dayton peace agreement has a chance to be implemented, he said:

[Koschnick] If all those who are politically responsible in the Balkans are willing to emphatically support the implementation of the Dayton agreement, not only to sign it, but also to find solutions and to justify them to the population, I tell you that the agreement will be very successful. The people in the Balkans listen to political leaders. However, these leaders must then be willing to jointly implement what they have signed, even if there are some unpopular aspects to it.

[Thurnher] You have threatened to resign if these conflicts do not stop. How much personal authority do you think you have, if you assume that such a threat will have an effect?

[Koschnick] First, I made this threat to the foreign ministers' conference in Luxembourg at the end of October and said that, if the town is to be rebuilt in two different parts, you will have to look for another administrator, because I refuse to rebuild a town that is divided, like Berlin was, and, as a German and given my history, I do not accept a new ghetto. I said this, and I have repeated it now. If one side does not want unification and the federation, then it should say so and we will leave. And if the foreign ministers think that (?one can leave things as they are), they have to look for another administrator. This is not much. This has nothing to do with authority. This is not a threat to the Bosniaks, Croats, or Serbs. This is a statement to the European foreign ministers: Here I stay and fulfill agreements, and if the parties to the agreements to not want to fulfill them, I have no place here.

[Thurnher] Nevertheless, Mr. Koschnick, do you think that the people in Mostar are interested in having you and your team stay there and will, therefore, perhaps listen to your demands?

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[Koschnick] The people yes. Any terrorist no. Not every warmonger listens to that, this is quite clear. This is the same in every country; this is probably no different in Austria, either. However, the people in Mostar are very interested in having us stay, because they are afraid that, if we leave, something that they do not want will start again. The people are tired of war, tired of fighting. However, that does not mean that every individual is tired of fighting. Therefore, I said that it would be good if President Tudjman made it clear to the Croats and President Izetbegovic made it clear to the Bosniaks that coexistence is possible only if both sides are willing to live together. If they do not want to live together, the federation is pointless. If the federation is pointless, the republic is pointless, because then there will be a new war.

[Thurnher] Mr. Koschnick, thank you very much for this telephone conversation, and good evening to Mostar.

[Koschnick] Good evening to Vienna, good bye.

Army Corps Commander 'Not Giving Up Banja Luka'

AU1101094696 Travnik BOSNJAK in Serbo-Croatian 2-9 Jan 96 pp 3-5

["Exclusive" interview with General Mehmed Alagic, commander of the 7th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zarif Safic; place and date not given: "The Road to the Drina River Now Leads Through Bosnian Krajina!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The recent visit of General Mehmed Alagic, commander of the 7th Corps of Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Germany, that is, to the Bosnia-Herzegovina diaspora there, resounded positively among the displaced and expelled Bosnians and Bosniaks, some 400,000 of whom are now living in that huge country. It was an occasion to obtain firsthand news from the fatherland and also to talk with Gen. Alagic about the liberation operations by our army — particularly those of the 7th and the 5th Corps, which linked up in the Bosnian Krajina for the first time after three and a half years of war — about the peace that was recently concluded at Dayton, Ohio, and about the refugees' return home. Of course, it was an occasion to have a chat with Gen. Alagic, a commander who, together with his colleague and friend Gen. Atif Dudakovic [5th Corps commander], forced the Serbs, but also the whole world, to promptly offer peace and thus prevent the ruin of the Bosnian Serbs, who were facing inevitably defeat. [passage omitted]

[Safic] Mr. General, you told me that you do not have much faith in peace accords. In the meantime, the peace accord on the cessation of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been signed in Dayton, Ohio, and many refer to it as historic.

[Alagic] And do you believe in accords?

[Safic] Well, judging by the peace accords so far, not so much. But the latest one is somewhat more compelling than those that failed. It is being led by the Americans.

[Alagic] Well, if you do not believe in it, why should I believe in those documants?

Serb Leadership Still Wants War!

[Safic] You are a general. A commander.

[Alagic] You are a journalist. Our tasks and goals are the same. I am fighting in my own way. I am a professional soldier. And you are fighting in your way. By writing. I once said that we would have as much of Bosnia as we liberate. The Dayton peace accord also confirms what I said. Why do I not believe in peace accords? Simply, because none of the peace accords so far has been observed. The Bosnian Serbs will not accept the U.S.-brokered accord either. They will not. Because they want more. They want to continue to wage war. They are war criminals. If they accept the peace accord, Karadzic and Gen. Mladic must go to The Hague. And they certainly do not want that. Only war can prevent that. And believe me, they cannot accept the fact that they lost Sanski Most. They will try to retake it. Just like Kljuc. And that will be our chance to free Banja Luka, Prijedor, and Bosanski Novi. We have to prepare ourselves. We have to be ready. The Serbs can never be trusted. Particularly those who started this bloody, humiliating war, and are now pretending that they want peace....

We Are Not Giving Up Banja Luka!

[Safic] That is to say, the war in Bosnia will continue?

[Alagic] The best, least painful option would be if we could settle affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a peaceful way. If we could reach an agreement. But remember, the Serbs do not want that! They have become stuck deep in the mire, from which there is no return. Perhaps Milosevic wants peace now, because the Dayton peace accord secures him half of Bosnia, but Karadzic, Mladic and Krajisnik, who was in the Serbian delegation in Dayton, do not want that, and Krajisnik has even said so publicly. They are afraid of peace, and only war can save them. But, if they want war — they will have it. We are ready. Had not the world, that big, little world, halted us, Dudak [Gen. Dudakovic] and I would already be in Banja Luka. Despite that, one day, we shall certainly hold a review of our corps in Banja Luka. Dudak, Mahmuljin [Gen. Sakib Mahmuljin, 3d Corps

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commander], and I. We are not giving up Banja Luka.... [passage omitted]

[Safic] Do you have enough strength to continue our war of liberation? Can we do that?

[Alagic] I am considering you as a fighter as well....

[Safic] Thank you very much, Mr. General, for that commendation, but still, it is you and your likes who are bringing freedom to Bosnia.

[Alagic] We have both the strength and the willpower. And the desire, of course. Which means that we are marching together to the final victory. Of course, if that crazy world allows us it. In any case, we shall win.

I Only Trust My Soldiers! [subhead]

[Safic] You do not put much trust in the world, do you? Do you trust the Americans?

[Alagic] I only trust my soldiers.

[Safic] But the Americans have arranged the federation. They have reconciled the Muslims with the Croats.

[Alagic] It is true that the Americans have produced the federation. If it dies, they will bear the responsibility for that.

[Safic] What is the cooperation with the Croats, that is, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] actually like? How great is, actually, their contribution to the liberation of Bosnia?

[Alagic] It is considerable. They are assisting us with artillery. But do not forget that we (Dudak and I) set them in motion. We brought them back to life. We showed them that the Serbs were not invincible. The 5th Corps did so by providing the example of Bihac and Banija, and the 7th Corps by liberating Kupres and Vlasic. Actually, it is we who always drove the Chetniks to their knees! [passage omitted]

Serb Army Demands Halt to Sanski Most Destruction

LD1001232696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1929 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Jan 10 (TANJUG) — Muslim forces continued Wednesday morning the torching of occupied Serb villages in western Bosnia that belong to Republika Srpska (R.S. — Bosnian Serb State) under the Dayton Agreement.

The General Headquarters of the R.S. Army (VRS) said Wednesday in a statement that Muslim forces initiated this action of vandalism Tuesday at noon, when they burned down the village of Marcetic, and continued Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning setting fire to Serb houses in Hadrovac, Davidovic and Novakovic, north-west of Sanski Most.

The VRS command demanded from the peace agreement Implementation Force (IFOR) to put an end to the destruction of Serb property in areas which are to be returned to R.S.

The Muslim Army is in this way copying the practice of the Croatian Regular Army and Bosnian Croat Forces (HVO) of looting and then burning down Serb villages and towns which will go to R.S. under the Dayton Agreement.

Disregarding warnings by the U.N. Security Council, Croatian Regular Army and HVO looted and torched the towns of Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo in western Bosnia.

The VRS statement also notes that Muslim forces opened fire Tuesday evening on Serb positions in Posavina, near Brcko, northern Bosnia.

The VRS did not return fire.

Calm prevailed Wednesday at other front lines in R.S., the statement says.

NATO Planners' 'Staggering' Mistakes Viewed

AU1001114596 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 96 p 11

[Commentary by Dario Barbalic: "The Americans in Bosnian Mists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The passage of the U.S. units across the river Sava has in a way marked the end of the first phase of the IFOR [Implementation Forces] deployment in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For the Americans it was a very frustrating period, when a perfect military plan faced reality which, naturally, no plan is capable of surviving.

For outside observers, and not only military experts, the number of mistakes made by the U.S. Army planners was staggering. For the problems had started before the first trains with equipment arrived in Croatia. That is, at NATO headquarters it had not occurred to anyone to make arrangements with the governments of Austria and Hungary to facilitate customs procedures at the border crossings, so that the first hold-ups started even at these countries' borders. One high-ranking officer laconically explained this by the fact that NATO had been exercising in the territory of Germany, where the crossing of federal borders is no problem. However, that was only the precursor of the problems that have started to occur in the first real "NATO ground exercise."

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Crucial Factor Has Been Omitted

The next big failure was discovered when the first train loaded with U.S. tanks M-1 Abrams (60 metric tons of weight without additional armor) arrived in Vrpolje, 40 kilometers from Zupanja: U.S. engineers realized that the railroad could not support such a weight. The reason is that this section of the railroad is in fact a provisional line, opened because the main line passes partly through the occupied area of western Slavonia. Then they decided to take the tanks and armored vehicles off the train and to proceed by road. However, it very soon proved that none of the road bridges could support the weight of U.S. tanks. All this would be understandable if the carrying capacity of bridges and the capacity of railroads were not crucial factors in the deployment of military forces, as has been the case now for 70 years, and has been taught in all the military academies in the world. Thus, for instance, the Russians, ever since World War II have deliberately used broader- gauged track to slow down enemy (then German) deployment. The capacity of the bridges, on the other hand, is a very important factor for tank design, that is, for constraints in their weight. Therefore many developed countries with a weak traffic infrastructure (for instance Brazil for its tank "Osorio") stipulate to their designers: Tanks must not weigh more than 40 to 45 metric tons.

In a Fix, They Started To Speak German

The weight of the tanks used in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was 36 (T-55) and 42 (M-84) metric tons, so it is clear that there will be more problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina with this, on both the bridges and local roads, which will quickly be devastated by traffic heavy vehicles. Very unpleasant situations have already occurred, like the one when the U.S. liaison-officers spoke only English with the personnel on the local railroad stations, because it is the official language in NATO, which all personnel of the member-countries have to learn. Fortunately, some of them spoke German, thanks to the fact that they had spent a lot of time in service in Germany, so that German soon became the main language of communication at the station in Vinkovci. Then the Americans found out that they had to wait for a local coal train to pass for the sugar refinery in Zupanja, because their trains had not been announced in time. At the beginning, even communications between certain U.S. trains were bad, so that the U.S. soldiers hired Croatian Post and Telecommunications mobile phone units.

Why Are Old Bridge Supports High?

The problem over the spanning the river with a bridge appeared primarily because of the high temperatures, which caused the snow to thaw and the water level of the river Sava to rise. In addition, the position of the U.S. camp was a bad choice because they situated it in the flood plain of the river Sava (the area that is flooded by the Sava when the water level is high), so that the whole area suddenly became flooded. The pontoon bridge was to be extended for another 619 meters, and it took as long as another 13 days. What made the mistake even more obvious was that the camp was situated close by the destroyed bridge across the Sava, whose buttresses stand out a couple of dozen meters above its level, and no U.S. engineer ever asked himself why they were so high. And that brought into question the whole concept on which the arrival of the U.S. troops from the north into Bosnia-Herzegovina was based. For, having learned from the experience of Somalia, where they sent a section of the so-called light infantry division (10th Mountain Division — Light Infantry) supported only by helicopters, and without tanks (which proved fatal), this time the U.S. strategists insisted on the deployment of a very strong armored unit with a large number of tanks, like the First Armored Division, with some 250 heavy tanks.

Sure of Success

This unit, whose two brigades have also been stationed in Germany in peacetime, is a logical choice. Since the northern sector has been designated for the U.S. troops, the route through Austria, Hungary, and Slavonia, including the crossing of the river Sava, instead of using the usual UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] routes, seemed justified. There has certainly been political influence in making that decision. Because that way, NATO troops pass for the first time through countries that are not members of the organization, but would like to be, and besides, the U.S. troops arrive in Bosnia in a different way, more spectacular in the media, than the others. The presence of CNN at the site of the bridge's construction and their way of reporting shows this clearly (in building the bridge the U.S. troops are competing against time, upon which the peace in Bosnia depends, and so on...). However, this also indicates that the U.S. planners were sure that there would be no problems on their entering Bosnia, because it is clear that it would have been practically impossible to cross the river Sava if there had been anybody on the other bank offering armed resistance. The news that special teams were going ahead of the U.S. units to explain the purpose of the U.S. troops' arrival to the local (primarily Serb) population, speak for that.

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But, in reality, as a consequence of bad planning (it is unbelievable that 10 days after their arrival, the Americans were asking Croatian experts to help them, and to give them information on the Sava's water levels — and they started to construct the bridge from the Croatian bank) it has all been put at stake and turned them into a laughing-stock.

Desert Radar

Therefore, for propaganda purposes, several M-2 Bradley armored infantry combat vehicles weighing 30 metric tons, have been taken by ferryboat across the river, just to give an impression of crossing the river. The tanks, again, at double the allowed weight, could not be transported by ferryboat. All that was, in fact, a complete contrast to the primary doctrine of "deployment by force," which required a large-scale crossing of the strong armored units, whom nobody would dare to confront.

It is obvious that for the time being the only danger for the NATO units are the mines, of which, according to some estimations, there are about 3 million in Bosnia. The U.S. units have brought along new "Schiebel" manual mine-detectors AN/PSS-12, which allegedly can also detect small plastic infantry land-mines, whose only metal part is the fuse. However, the first U.S. soldier wounded by a mine (and immediately decorated) clearly indicates that it will not be simple, because the greatest problem of all is the unmarked mine fields that Bosnia is full of. It is particularly interesting that the U.S. contingent is escorted by an unusually strong intelligence structure with a total of four National Intelligence Support Teams — NIST, and as much as two battalions, the 303d and 309th battalion of military intelligence service, whose task is to handle the J-STARS radar reconnaissance system and to interpret its data. It is a radar system mounted on a Boeing 707, first tested in Operation Desert Storm, which can register movements of military formations, and whose most recent version can register even smaller groups of vehicles.

Bad Experiences From Somalia

However, experts point out that those results have been achieved in the desert, that is, in almost ideal conditions. In Bosnian mists, forests, and gorges, the results will doubtless be a lot weaker. The NIST's task is much harder: It consists of following and predicting the activities of possible renegade and "disobedient" military groups that could oppose the IFOR activities and undertake terrorist attacks. It is also known that at least at two locations, in Sarajevo, and around the airport in Tuzla, artillery radars will be deployed, whose task would be to detect the sources of artillery fire, and which would be controlled by U.S. crews. However, what is less well known is that in Somalia such radars lacked the required degree of efficiency when the enemy used small portable 60mm mortars, which can easily be transported or mounted on small trucks. Sporadic small arms fire at low-flying helicopters is particularly dangerous, and such cases have already occurred, but the IFOR, for the time being, has been trying to lessen their importance or refuses to identify the perpetrators.

Freezing for a Year

UN sources, meanwhile, claim that, from the statistical viewpoint, the largest number of such incidents has occurred later in the day, when the soldiers are under the influence of alcohol. Although it does not have to be deliberate, it could cause casualties. On the other hand, attempts to avoid casualties among one's own ranks, particularly in the case of the U.S. forces, can be counter-productive. Thus it emerges that the IFOR members will not guarantee freedom of movement in all the areas they control. If the presence of the IFOR is reduced only to an occasional patrolling of the demilitarized area, and certain "cosmetic" measures, there is a great danger that the problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be frozen for a year, and then the U.S. forces will withdraw. And this one- year "exercise" costs only the U.S. taxpayers more than $2 billion, and perhaps even more, financed from $7 billion of the budgetary re- balance for the 1996 fiscal year. By the way, that rebalance has not yet been passed by Congress, so that it is a more than apparent weak point in Clinton's "Bosnian policy," which will be more than gladly used by his opponents in the domestic political arena.

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War Crimes Tribunal Prosecutor Warns Zagreb

AU0801103996 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 95 pp 7-9

[Interview with Richard Goldstone, chief prosecutor of the Tribunal for War Crimes in The Hague, by Nebojsa Taraba; place and date not given: "If Croatia Does Not Extradite Indicted War Criminals to the Tribunal in The Hague, It May Be Liable to Sanctions of the UN Security Council!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The International Tribunal for War Crimes for the region of former Yugoslavia is bringing to a close the investigation against Tomislav Mercep for crimes he allegedly committed in Pakracka Poljana. Under investigation is also Ivan Vekic, who at the time performed the function of interior minister, which does not mean that he will eventually be indicted.

We have obtained this information from a source at the Tribunal itself. Although the chief prosecutor, Richard Goldstone, is not willing to comment on it, he tells us that the investigation into events in the Storm 95 operation carried out by the Croatian Army and after it is underway right now.

So the Croatian public might soon face new unpleasant surprises from The Hague, even before the earlier turbulent polemic has calmed down, caused by indictments against seven Bosnian Croats, with Dario Kordic and Tihomir Blaskic heading the list. Speaking of them, prosecutor Goldstone is quite positive that Croatia will abide by commitments assumed with the signing of the Dayton accord, regarding extradition of indicted persons to the Hague Tribunal. At the same time, Goldstone announces new indictments for crimes committed by the Serbian side in Vukovar, which will probably cause doubts with the Croatian public how to view the role of the Hague Tribunal at all.

In November this year, the Tribunal marked the third anniversary of its existence, which was an occasion to review all that this unique international legal institution has accomplished. All in all, 12 indictments have been issued, with a list of 52 persons accused of war crimes, of whom seven are Croats, and 45 are Serbs.

The Tribunal works in leased offices in the building of the biggest Dutch insurance company AEGON, in the business center of The Hague, opposite the Dutch Congress Center. The Tribunal employs 282 people, who, being members of 37 nationalities, are supposed to compose the core of the future permanent international tribunal for war crimes. That is, of course, if the international community reaches consensus on this matter, which could place many leading countries in the world today in a rather unpleasant position. It is known that war crimes are never statute-barred, Which means, their position would be no better than the current position of Croatia.

The Ninth Chapter of the UN Charter

[Taraba] Mr. Goldstone, have you already asked the Croatian authorities to extradite Kordic, Blaskic, and other indicted Croats?

[Goldstone] Yes, I have.

[Taraba] What answer did you get?

[Goldstone] I was told that the Croatian authorities wanted to cooperate with the Tribunal in any way possible, while details would probably be discussed later, at subsequent meetings. Our first meeting with representatives of the Croatian authorities, at which all those questions should be discussed, has been scheduled early next week.

[Taraba] Do you know whether the accused are now within reach of the Croatian police?

[Goldstone] No, I do not know, because we still do not have guarantees regarding whether or how the Croatian side will reach an agreement with the Tribunal and answer to its decisions.

[Taraba] How do you view the fact that President Tudjman, two days after the announcement of indictments, designated Blaskic inspector of the Croatian Army, which was politically interpreted by some people as Blaskic's promotion?

[Goldstone] I do not think it is appropriate that I comment on decisions made by the Croatian president, but I have to tell you that I saw the statement of the government in Zagreb in which it is said that it was not about any promotion. What is actually behind all that I really do not know. If it was a promotion, then it is regrettable.

[Taraba] However, it is a fact that Blaskic has been transferred from the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] to a very important function in the Croatian Army....

[Goldstone] That is not my concern. My concern is whether he will be indicted, arrested and brought here. His position in the army is of no importance to me.

[Taraba] What can Croatia expect if it does not show willingness to cooperate with the Tribunal?

[Goldstone] Such decisions are made by the UN Security Council. We have no authority to force anybody to extradite indicted persons. Croatia is a UN member state, a signatory of the UN Charter, the 9th Chapter of

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which places it under an obligation to arrest and extradite people we indict. Noncompliance with this requirement would mean violation of the Charter, of international law, and consequently involve liability to UN Security Council sanctions.

National Heroes Accused of Crime

[Taraba] It is probably known to you that the first Croat accused of war crimes, Ivica Rajic, was set free after trial in Mostar, for quite different reasons....

[Goldstone] I know about that, and I am very disappointed because the authorities in Mostar got around international law and the commitment to extradite Rajic to the Hague Tribunal, which they are obliged to do in any other case if people accused of war crimes are within their reach.

[Taraba] Do you know that, after the announcement of indictments against the seven Croats from central Bosnia, all of them, each in his own town, have been given the status of national heroes, by which political institutions, citizen's associations and many respectable individuals have expressed their support for them. How do you explain that?

[Goldstone] I cannot comment on events in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, if that is true, I hope it has simply to do with the lack of information and unfamiliarity with the problem. I cannot believe that honorable people would make heroes out of those who had committed horrible war crimes. I am sure that the majority of Croatian citizens tend to observe human rights, and that they will not put up with or support war criminals. Still, I do not exclude the possibility that people in certain situations, particularly because of propaganda or other objective circumstances, may come to believe that war criminals are their national heroes. Many Germans in nazi Germany believed that Hitler was a real hero. Few of them were able to comprehend his criminal deeds.

[Taraba] In view of the list of accused Bosnian Croats, it is clear, with the exception of Zlatko Aleksovski, that those are persons who occupied responsible positions in the Lasva valley at the time of Croatian-Bosnian war. Can it be expected that indictments will be issued against even more influential politicians, like the then president of Herzeg-Bosnia, Mate Boban, or even Gojko Susak [current Croatian defense minister], which some English and American journalists predict?

[Goldstone] I cannot tell you what you can expect, just as I cannot tell you anything about the investigations. After all, no prosecutor will tell you anything about cases under investigation, or about those that are to be investigated. Likewise, it would be very unfair to speak about people who are not indicted as if they were under investigation. I simply cannot comment on that.

[Taraba] Can you tell us what your investigating teams have discovered in Gospic and Pakracka Poljana?

[Goldstone] I repeat, I cannot tell you anything about that, and it makes no sense to ask me about the results of our investigations before the Tribunal informs the public about them.

[Taraba] I am asking you that because I have reliable information that your Tribunal has already prepared indictments against Tomislav Mercep and Ivan Vekic, who is responsible for crimes committed in that region as much as his function of interior minister in 1991 made him so.

[Goldstone] I would not comment on that.

Poor Cooperation With Belgrade

[Taraba] Is it true that you have launched an investigation into the events that happened during and after Operation Storm?

[Goldstone] Yes, the investigation is still under way.

[Taraba] When can we expect first results?

[Goldstone] It is a very complicated investigating process, and I find it difficult to make any assessments about when we shall be able to inform the public about its first results.

[Taraba] How would you assess the level of cooperativeness in work of the Tribunal among all three sides in former Yugoslavia, which is to say, with the authorities in Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade?

[Goldstone] So far we have had excellent cooperation with the governments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. This, however, does not apply to the authorities in Belgrade, with which we have not been able to establish cooperation in any way. I hope that the good cooperation with Zagreb and Sarajevo will continue, and the reasons for my optimism have been additionally encouraged by the signing of the Dayton accord. You know that the integral part of the accord has to do precisely with commitments of the signatories toward the War Crimes Tribunal.

[Taraba] But you have just said that some important questions with regard to cooperation with the Tribunal and the Croatian authorities have not been precisely defined yet. What does that mean?

[Goldstone] The Dayton accord was signed only a few weeks ago. People first have to digest that, and their governments have to inform them about all the details

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regarding the problem of war crimes and current positions of their respective countries in it. What happened in the short period from the announcement of indictments against the Croats, over the peace negotiations and the signing of the Dayton accord until today, namely a certain silence on the part of Zagreb, I would not interpret as a sign of poor cooperation with the Tribunal in any way.

[Taraba] No indictment has been issued against Bosniaks. On the other hand, indictments against Bosnian Croats have seriously strained relations between the Croats and the Bosniaks in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Can we expect indictments against Bosniaks to be issued soon as well?

[Goldstone] The public already knows that the Tribunal is investigating war crimes committed by Bosniaks. One of those investigations has already made progress. We certainly welcome demands that same sort of crimes be equally treated, and we behave according to that principle.

[Taraba] Even now objections are being raised that the Tribunal is speculating politically with indictments, following the principle: The Serbs are most to blame, the Croats a little less, and the Muslims the least....

[Goldstone] Such an assessment is senseless. We really do not approach our job from that standpoint. We use quite different criteria. The most substantial criterion is the degree and severity of the crime. We take into consideration positions, military or political, of people suspected of war crimes. Therefore, we are really not interested in which side is more to blame. We are solely interested in the crimes committed.

Slobodan Milosevic

[Taraba] For many crimes committed by Muslims against Croats, mujahidin are held responsible. Is that true?

[Goldstone] So far we have received very little information confirming that, but we expect the Croatian side, if there is such evidence, to provide us with it in time.

[Taraba] Do you consider Milosevic to be a war criminal?

[Goldstone] I do not consider anybody a war criminal until the Tribunal establishes he is one. Even the fact that our Tribunal has accused some people does not necessarily have to mean that they really are war criminals. Their culpability must be proven through legal proceedings. All I can say is that the people accused so far face criminal charges. The decision on their culpability will be made by the judge, rather than by the prosecutor.

[Taraba] The international public was recently shocked at the news that the Tribunal, reportedly, has documents bearing direct evidence of Milosevic's responsibility for last summer's massacre in Srebrenica, but those documents were put aside so they would not endanger the Dayton negotiations. Is that true?

[Goldstone] Let me tell you two important facts. First, I cannot talk about what evidence we have or do not have. Nobody from my office provided such information to the media, and I am very happy about that. Second, I assure you that we have never interrupted any activity of ours because of the Dayton accords, or for any other political reason. If we have evidence of somebody's responsibility for war crimes, we shall indict that man. The height of somebody's political position will not prevent us in doing that. On the contrary.

[Taraba] Recently indictments have been brought up against Mile Mrksic, Miroslav Radic and Veselin Sljivancanin for crimes committed against the Croats held prisoner at Vukovar hospital. Does the investigation of Serbian crimes in Vukovar end with this case?

[Goldstone] No, this is just the first of a series of indictments that will be issued next year that concern Vukovar. The Vukovar investigation is slow, but is still going on. We are thoroughly investigating the siege of Vukovar and all the atrocities that happened then.

[Taraba] How far does the investigation go regarding degrees of responsibility?

[Goldstone] I really cannot tell you that.

[Taraba] Do you know the exact number of people killed in Vukovar? Many who lost contact with members of their families during the battle for Vukovar still live in the hope that their loved ones are still alive....

[Goldstone] I cannot disclose to you information on the investigation that is still in progress, but I hope you will not need to wait long for results.

[Taraba] Last week, it was reported that the Russian military attache in Belgrade had offered Ratko Mladic political asylum and a position as lecturer at one of the Russian military academies. This report was subsequently denied by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. What will the Tribunal's attitude be if some country really does offer asylum to persons accused of war crimes?

[Goldstone] It is the UN Security Council that can make a decision on that. I would be really shocked if a permanent member of the Security Council, like Russia, were to violate Security Council resolutions. In addition, it would be a very unpleasant surprise for me if it turned out that the proposal you are talking about is true.

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[Taraba] Have not you already been put under pressure, and precisely by Kozyrev, to reconsider the Tribunal's decisions regarding bringing of indictments against Mladic and Karadzic?

[Goldstone] We shall not make any decisions, or change the old ones, just because someone puts pressure on us, be it Moscow, Washington, Beijing, Paris, or London....The Tribunal's independence, as well as mine, as chief prosecutor, is guaranteed by the Security Council. We take our job very seriously, and according to the Statute of the Tribunal's Work itself I am required not to accept instructions from any government or any other authority. I will not do that, nor do I want to.

IFOR's Role

[Taraba] It is still not quite clear what IFOR's [Implementation Force] attitude is toward the accused in Bosnia. After your talks with chiefs of the new peacekeeping operation, there was a report that IFOR would not be searching for war criminals in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it will arrest them if it comes across them. What in fact does this mean?

[Goldstone] I think that the statement is quite clear. IFOR has announced it will arrest all persons accused of war crimes if it comes across them while carrying out its activities and tasks in Bosnia. IFOR is an army, rather than police force. Its soldiers will not be chasing war criminals all over Bosnia, nor do we expect them to.

[Taraba] But what does it mean "if they come across them?" Where? In the street, at a check point, at a working meeting...?

[Goldstone] I think you need to ask IFOR those questions. I cannot speak on behalf of IFOR. As far as I understand it, wherever they come across the accused, they will arrest them.

[Taraba] It was said on one occasion that the War Crimes Tribunal would not charge only executors or order-givers with war crimes, but also all those who encouraged others to commit crimes, including, for instance, journalists or authors in the service of propaganda with any of the warring factions. Will you really do that?

[Goldstone] We are considering that possibility, but we have not made any official decision yet. In Rwanda, for instance, the situation is clearer, for a big local radio station was directly encouraging people to commit crimes. In the case of former Yugoslavia, the problem is much more complicated and unclear.

[Taraba] Until recently the International Tribunal for War Crimes was struggling with huge financial problems, which almost placed its operation in doubt. What is the situation now?

[Goldstone] It is much better. This applies to both the tribunals, the one for former Yugoslavia and the one for Rwanda. We are able to work normally, and carry on with our work. Of course, the money problem has not been definitely resolved, because many countries are not meeting their financial commitments to the United Nations.

[Taraba] The establishment of the permanent international tribunal for war crimes, which would replace the existing two ad hoc tribunals, has become topical again. When will the permanent tribunal be formed?

[Goldstone] It is important to form such a tribunal as soon as possible. It is not fair that war criminals are prosecuted in some countries, while in others they are ignored. War crimes must be treated equally, no matter who committed it, or where.

[Taraba] Many technical details in connection with trials are still unclear. Can, for instance, every indicted person have his own lawyer, from his native or some third country?

[Goldstone] Yes, he can, if he is able to pay his own lawyer. If, however, the accused is not able to pay his own lawyer, as has already happened with Dusko Tadic, the Tribunal is ready to pay the costs of a lawyer picked by the accused alone.

[Taraba] Where will convicts serve their sentences?

[Goldstone] Convicts will be sent to serve sentences in prisons of the countries chosen by the judges who sentenced them. In October last year, the UN secretary general invited all the UN member states and Switzerland to offer their prisons to the Tribunal. So far we have had responses from the Netherlands, Italy, Finland, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Pakistan, Germany and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The other countries of former Yugoslavia may offer their prisons as well.

[Taraba] After the first shock in the Croatian public caused by the indictments of the seven Croats, our press brought out a series of interviews with the accused, in which they claimed they were innocent and ready to go to The Hague.

[Goldstone] Let them come. We are awaiting them.

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Return of Serbs to Krajina Seen as Undesired

AU0901145496 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 96 p 10

[Commentary by Gojko Boric: "Political Harakiri"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is a difficult and unrewarding job to write about modern history. However, we have mustered the courage to claim that the freeing of much of the occupied regions will be referred to in textbooks on Croatian history as the divide between an unstable and a stable republic of Croatia. From that moment on it depends on Croats, for the most part, what the fate of their state will be like. Flash and Storm were brilliant military operations, but not only that. It was a combination of a luckily chosen moment, Serbia's unwillingness to intervene and aid its Krajina brethren, and the West's tacit consent. However, the decision was made by President Tudjman alone, being a patient strategist and courageous statesman.

One of the important side-effects that came about before the above-mentioned military operations was the departure of rebel Serbs. Perhaps it will be later considered as actually the most positive result of Flash and Storm. With this, we do not want to imply that the Serbs who fled, and who want to be loyal citizens of the Republic of Croatia, should be prevented from coming back. On the contrary, we should help them return. But it would make no sense at all to follow the malevolent suggestion of the Serbian People's Party [SNS] and allow all the displaced or defected Serbs to return to Croatia. That would be sheer political harakiri. That would mean placing of rebel dynamite at important strategic positions in the republic, the wick of which would remain in Belgrade, and if nothing else, it would be suitable for constant blackmailing of Zagreb at least.

Since the establishment of the Principality of Serbia as a Piedmont of all Serbian regions, part of the Serbs in Croatia have constantly conspired with irreconcilable enemies of the Croatian people (Hungarian and Italian nationalists, supporters of imperial, centralist, and Yugo-communist Belgrade), and have always been, as Jovan Raskovic [deceased leader of Serbian Democratic Party in Croatia] himself put it, an element of instability in Croatia. So therefore no one, and least of all some diffused international community, can demand from Croats that they take that snake back to their hearts.

Draskovic

This must be finally said clearly and loudly to everybody abroad. Same would have it as if Poland, the Czech Republic or Russia allowed revenge-seeking former German refugees and defectors to return to the Sudetenland, or former eastern Prussia. As Tomislav Sulic wrote,"...that would perhaps usher in a new world war" (HRVATSKI OBZOR, 1 January 1996). Whoever wants to stir up war in the Balkans, as the one before Dayton, should do no more than insist on the return of all Serbs to the so-called Croatian Krajina.

That Belgrade cares much to see them back in Croatia, and if necessary, to employ them as its instruments there, at least as a new material for building some fourth Yugoslavia, is clearly seen from an interview given by the ostensibly politically changed leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], namely Vuk Draskovic (NACIONAL, 22 December 1995), where he threatens Croatia with Serbs' biological superiority and advantage in arms, if Zagreb refuses to allow all the Serb refugees to return to Croatia. Draskovic is again playing a tune of equal responsibility for the past war, equalizing Croatia's winning of independence from the SFRY with the secession of the Krajina Serbs (contrary to the opinion of the Badinter commission regarding the disintegration of Yugoslavia), and talking about similarity between Croats and Serbs. Any dialogue with Serbia based on such grounds is impossible. The Serbs should abandon highwaymen-styled threats once and for all if their neighbors do not want to live with them. Because, they have to live beside them, but together with them—no way.

Now, somebody might raise a question that, if it is so bad to have all the Serb refugees back in Croatia, why does that rule not apply to the Croats and the Muslims in Bosnia. After all, the Dayton agreement anticipates the return of all refugees and defectors. Here it ought to be said: The Dayton accord is theory, while the reality is all that is possible to implement on the ground. Never will Croats and Muslims return to their former homelands on their own initiative, if those same Serbs who expelled them once from their homes are still in power there. And vice versa: the Serbs will not return to predominantly Croat or Muslim regions, if they are supposed to be a minority there. Tragic as it may be, and even if it is a denial of some Western ideals of the multiethnicity and multicultural character of these states, it is indeed our Balkan reality, which would deteriorate even more if somebody from abroad tried to change it, say, by putting pressure in the form of the denial of necessary material aid for reconstruction of devastated cities and villages. Because, what is the use of that if people are living under the rule of their erstwhile enemies?

Koschnick

The experience that the EU-appointed governor of Mostar, Hans Koschnick, is constantly talking about sends out a clear message: The Croats and the Bosniaks in the city on the Neretva River, even though reconciled

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through the Federation, will not be able to live together for a long time, but will rather be living one beside the other. Whoever ignores that fact wants consciously or unconsciously to deepen existing contrasts. Reconciliation requires time, and if one side does not want to live together with the other, it makes no use for the other to demand it. Why should relations between nations be any more different than relations between spouses, who, according to the modern law on marriage and divorce, are not expected to explain who is to blame for an inevitable divorce?

For a long time in the future, Croatia will be facing the malevolent intentions of some supporters of larger wholes in former Yugoslavia who want to restore the state that is unviable in any form. Hence the various proposals about federations, confederations, economic communities, and so forth. It is not accidental that Serbia and Montenegro could obtain the right to own at least 20 percent more heavy weapons than Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina. If this really happens, then it makes no sense to refer to Croatia as a regional power, which top officials in the Croatian leadership have quite frequently been maintaining recently. Let us recall: For every 10 Serb tanks, the Bosniaks and Croats are allowed to have only four tanks each. In whose interest is this?

Passions will calm down eventually, but normal relations, at least to a degree, between former Yugoslav states will be established only after the persons responsible for the war are punished. If the so-called international community keeps on insisting on the formula that there are no winners or losers, then reconciliation is out of question. The Germans and French shook hands only after the Third Reich was completely defeated, and representatives of the Nazi regime were punished. Stjepan Radic said once: "Between culprit and victim there can be no reconciliation." This rule has proved to be true for all time. The fact that among the victims there were a few culprits does not diminish the general culpability of warmongers from Belgrade to Knin. Whoever mixes up causes and consequences may find himself in the situation of experiencing the causes again.

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President Gligorov Meets UN Special Envoy

LD1001215696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Jan. 10 (TANJUG)—President of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] Kiro Gligorov on Wednesday met with U.N. Special Envoy for Former Yugoslavia Kofi Annan for talks on the U.N. Preventive Deployment Force [UNPREDEP] and the situation in the region.

Gligorov said the preventive role of the peacekeepers deployed in FYROM proved important for the stability of the southern part of the Balkans, said a presidential cabinet statement.

He said the mutual recognition of Yugoslavia with the former Yugoslav republics was an element of general stability in the Balkans.

Gligorov called on the promotion of cooperation and friendship among the Balkan states, stressing the importance of the resolution on cooperation in the Balkans, which, at FYROM's proposal, was recently adopted by the U.N. General Assembly.

Annan, who is on a two-day visit to Skopje, said the presence of UNPREDEP in FYROM was in the interest of peace and stability in the Balkans.

Prime Minister Discusses Political Progress

AU0501191196 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 30 Dec 95 -2 Jan 96 pp 4-5

[Interview with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski by Manco Mitevski; place and date not given: "The Worst Is Behind Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Usually, discussions with the prime minister, particularly at the end of the year, have to do with policy, figures, percentages, and tendencies. This time we tried to discuss from another angle some matters other than classical policy with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, to make the discussions more interesting for the reader.

[Mitevski] It has been more than three years since you accepted to perform the function of prime minister with the aim of making a transition from an expert to a political government, to prepare the laws on early elections. At that time the term "prime minister for one purpose" was invented. Your "one purpose" became "two purposes"—you formed the second government as well. What do you think about your career up to now and do you consider the possibility for another mandate on this or on another political or state position?

[Crvenkovski] The period in which I got the mandate for the formation of the government was filled with negative assessments. Perhaps today the memories have faded a little bit. However, let us recall that it was the time of the first Greek blockade, of terrible oil crises, of great social tensions. I remember that the first 45 days of my mandate were characterized by numerous strikes in various economic and noneconomic fields.

Some other political subjects and personalities had chosen to escape the risk. I decided to face the challenge. I responded to the thesis that the new prime minister would be for "one purpose"—that in such turbulent times and tectonic changes in the political and economic system, in the period of the completion of the international status of the state and all the problems and temptations, everybody who gets actively involved in policy, particularly those who get involved in responsible state duties, must understand that they will be permanently exposed to reelection, or that we are all for one purpose. Nobody can guarantee a lasting mandate or several consecutive mandates to anybody so as to enable him to perform his program determinations and concepts in peace and without pressure. Those who think differently are mistaken, or they have chosen the wrong profession or time.

As far as the question about the future of my political career is concerned, to be honest, you have taken me by surprise. Perhaps I have subconsciously rejected contemplations on this topic, because I am aware that it is inappropriate to make long-term prognoses in the field of policy.

Prime Ministership—Burdening

[Mitevski] Do you consider the position of prime minister to be the way it is now, and is there a danger for Branko Crvenkovski to be "corrupted," following the proverb that "power corrupts"?

[Crvenkovski] Yes, I am familiar with this proverb, and it is absolutely true that power corrupts. Fortunately, we are constantly changing the system with the purpose of frustrating absolute power or extreme concentration of power without democratic mechanisms of control, which is a precondition for real parliamentary democracy. Regardless of the fact that I am occupying the present position, I always try to think from the position of an ordinary man, because I will not be a prime minister throughout my life, but a citizen who can be endangered by uncontrolled power.

Perhaps, as a remnant of the past way of thinking, the government is often made responsible for matters which were simply out of its competence in order to make some changes. It is good that the executive power cannot interfere in all the spheres, like, for instance, the courts,

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mutual market relations among the economic subjects, and so on.

As far as the question itself is concerned, that is, whether I am corrupted by the power or whether it has changed my character, it is really difficult to speak on one's behalf and not to be subjective. Outsiders can have a better insight into changes of character and attitude and can judge whether they are positive or negative.

[Mitevski] Does it ever happen that Branko Crvenkovski, the person, opposes Branko Crvenkovski, the prime minister, in reference to some decision and what may they be?

[Crvenkovski] This is an interesting question. Every ordinary man, particularly a man of typically Macedonian mentality, is mostly occupied with himself and his family. He often judges and makes general conclusions on the basis of his personal impressions and the impressions of his closest family. On the other hand, at least as far as I am concerned, whoever is occupying a high-level state position must think that the whole of Macedonia, all 2 million people, are his family. Most frequently there are no black and white situations, there are not any decisions and projects that will have purely positive consequences for all the 2 million people. Nearly every decision means protection of the interests of a particular structure of the population, but it is also a conflict for another structure.

Our permanent task is to identify the results and the general interest in the particular moment or in the perspective. So, let me be concrete in my answer. Sometimes, as an ordinary man, when I hear about a problem or trouble, I risk to make a particular decision. When I put myself in the position of prime minister, aware that the one or the other direction represents a consequence for the future of 2 million people, I always have to give priority to the decision that complies with the prime minister's responsibility.

"Discipline" for the Undisciplined

[Mitevski] So far, you have been very successful in your political career. What would your reaction be to a possible failure, for instance, if the government falls and you lose the present positions?

[Crvenkovski] One of the greatest wisdoms of man is not to know how to deal with successes, but to learn how to live with defeats and to keep dignity. It is of particular importance for policy, where falls can be very radical, lethal. On the other hand, in policy, as well as in sports, successes are not always possible. Sooner or later everyone will have to face defeats. So, in my opinion, the one who is not ready to take the burden of a possible defeat with dignity, must not be engaged in policy. Of course, the real reaction and inner energy will be seen only after this happens. In a way, since its beginning, my political career has been nothing else but skating on thin ice between success and defeat.

[Mitevski] What is life like for a young man, who had been used to an ordinary, everyday life in the street, in the cafe, surrounded by friends—to be now constantly surrounded by security, protocol, and an obligatory manner, who is wearing a tie and living in Vodno [residential area]?

[Crvenkovski] This is also part of the job. To be honest, this is a real burden for us, particularly after 3 October when many norms of behavior became strict. I cannot go anywhere if I do not announce it in advance, I always have to be accompanied. Before the event, I was one of the most "undisciplined." I adored moving around without bodyguards, playing sports, paying evening visits to friends, or going out to cafes. It is different now and I think it is right. I believe that we were all a little less serious and we did not realize that this is also a responsibility toward the state. It goes for us too, but it also goes for the mass media. I remember that there had been critical articles in the newspapers, for instance, as to why there was the presence of a policeman in front of my house in Vlae [Skopje area] on the ninth floor. However, after 3 October, the same newspapers asked for stronger security, for instance, why we did not have armored cars, and so on.

According to the strict regulations of the Security Service, it had been decided that there had not been sufficient conditions for security. Recently, I had accommodations in the guest house of the Interior Ministry.

[Mitevski] In the years of your prime ministership you have demonstrated great support to the ministers that you selected in your cabinet. There have not been any reconstructions or reshuffles and only one of the presented resignations has been accepted, although there had been more such needs. All of a sudden, you now say that the government's cabinet has a door that is not locked. Is a reconstruction or reshuffle possible, or was it just a statement in principle, as a response to some pressure of the coalition partners?

[Crvenkovski] In order to be consistent with my response to the first question, when I said that, in a period like this, we are all exposed to permanent reelection, I would like to reiterate that this refers to all the members of the government. If I accept to be permanently rechecked, this principle must be applied to all the other ministers as well. It is true that until now there has not been any bigger reconstruction, but considering the fact that this government has been functioning for over a year, I announce the idea for reconstruction as possible.

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I Do Not Yell

[Mitevski] Can the prime minister be strict and raise his voice sometimes in his contacts with the ministers, although they are all older than him?

[Crvenkovski] All the members of the government are different and they all have good and bad virtues, like every other ordinary man. Besides, they all come from different parties and therefore they feel to be responsible in front of different political platforms. On the other hand, the government cannot be efficient without coordinated activities and teamwork in all the segments. As a consequence, the task of the prime minister is to give the basic tone to the government's general course, that is, to play the role of an integrator and to draw the maximum out of all the variety of characters and political determinations. Basically, I do not yell or scream, because I believe that everything that is accomplished by force can give only short-range results.

At the same time, the government is not a debating club. The executive power is expected to be operational and efficient, because current events are taking place continuously, 24 hours a day. So, there is often the need to cut off a discussion or a matter by force, with the authority of the prime minister. It does not have to be done by yelling, because the arguments do not become stronger if you use a loud voice. In other words, there is a procedure in which everybody can express his opinion and arguments. If the prevailing view complies with the general course, the matter is cut off, and a decision is taken that is common for all the members of government from that moment.

[Mitevski] Some people say that if the government coalition, the Alliance for Macedonia, breaks up, it will be more because of rivalry and ambitions among the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] and the LP [Liberal Party] leaders—Branko Crvenkovski and Stojan Andov, than because of program differences.

[Crvenkovski] The SDSM and the LP are two different parties and normally they have two different programs. Nevertheless, let us not forget that, at the last parliamentary and presidential elections, these two parties went into the elections together with the Socialist Party as the Alliance for Macedonia, with a common electoral platform, common list of candidates for members of parliament, and a common presidential candidate. On the basis of this electoral platform that was presented in the preelection campaign, the citizens voted for us and they granted us a four-year mandate. So, if you ask about the government's platform, then it certainly is the electoral platform of the Alliance for Macedonia. The SDSM has fully accepted this platform as its own, and we believe that it represents a commitment for the other two parties as well, at least as their debt to the voters.

As far as the personal rivalry between me and the LP president is concerned, I can say as follows: Neither from the aspect of the generations that we represent, nor from the aspect of the functions that we are performing, there is no possibility or interest for any rivalry. At least as far as I am concerned, there is no such feeling or approach at all.

In my opinion, the problem of the mutual relations lies in another fact—whether the LP will accept the results of the democratically expressed will of the citizens at the parliamentary elections, which has shaped the political relations as it has, as well as the political influences and power, which can be expressed in figures through the number of seats in the Assembly. These political relations, regardless of whether someone likes it or not, can only be changed at the next elections, and not through various combinations or tactical maneuvers.

Another serious burden for the coalition relations is the approach that the LP chose during the constitution of the authority and which is unprecedented in parliamentary democracies. Namely, the LP has four representatives in government, two of whom are also vice presidents of the party, but the LP did not vote for the election of the government and it promoted a view that it will not participate in the executive power as a party. In other words, this means that they wish to have influence, but, if possible, they do not wish to bear any responsibility. If good things happen, they are here, but if it becomes tough, they immediately dissociate. It is also beyond any reason to have a coalition with the SDSM on the level of the state, and a coalition with the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] on a town and communal level. Here the question arises whether there are any principles, or whether there is only one principle—to be in power no matter with whom.

[Mitevski] The relations inside the government coalition are constantly heated, there are constant threats of abandoning it, there are blackmails, and so on. Could you, as the leader of the largest party in the government coalition and prime minister, get fed up with everything and say good-bye to such a government coalition?

[Crvenkovski] The joint functioning in the multiparty coalition has its rules of the game. They can be more or less adaptive, but there are always some limits. This is very reasonable because, if there are no regulations, then it is impossible to provide a minimum efficiency and a consistent policy cannot be conducted. If the attitude grows that coalition actually means

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permanent obstruction, then changes in the coalition are indispensable.

[Mitevski] It is hard for someone to link you with Professor Tupurkovski. Do you have any contacts with him, and what is your opinion about his growing criticisms against the present policy, and, in general, about some remarks from other subjects and parties concerning the policy of equal distance and stopping of democratic processes?

[Crvenkovski] I have not had the occasion to meet Tupurkovski for a long time. As far as the criticisms are concerned, we are in general not bothered by them, whichever side they come from. On the contrary, I believe that if they are well-intentioned, they are welcome. Ultimately, alternative proposals and views can only make us reexamine. However, there is one thing that is of great importance, not only in Tupurkovski's case, but in general. Whoever is ready to come out with a critical review of the present policy and the concept of the ruling political subjects must be ready to make a critical approach also in the other direction—from the current policy makers to new alternatives. You cannot speak about things in an incomplete manner—that is to say that it is legitimate and democratic to criticize the concept that is implemented by the government, but if somebody in government tries to criticize the alternative, it is a suffocation of democracy or stopping of democratic processes.

The thesis promoted by some political subjects and personalities about the stopping of democratic relations in Macedonia is basically handicapped because of the moment chosen for its launching. Namely, it was exactly in the last few months that a number of events have taken place, which represent a direct international verification for the development of democracy in Macedonia. Let us recall—one of the indispensable criteria for full membership in the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] and the "Partnership for Peace," but even more, for the Council of Europe, is the democratic identity card of each of their members. So, I cannot interpret the thesis about the stopping of democratic processes other than as a part of someone's political platform, as a possibility for an opposition promotion and gaining scores in the struggle for power.

Better Life—Through Labor

[Mitevski] How did you find out about the assassination attempt against President Gligorov and how did you experience it, being closely associated with him?

[Crvenkovski] I found out about the assassination attempt on my way to the office on Partizanska St. I immediately rushed to the City Hospital and President Gligorov was being examined at that moment. I was really shocked as a man—as were all the other citizens in Macedonia. At the first moment I was occupied with providing indispensable conditions for medical treatment and the operations. At the same time, I was aware that we as the government have a great responsibility to have all the institutions of the system working normally and to eliminate all the effects that had been desired to follow the assassination attempt. It was a real satisfaction for me to see that all the citizens in our country and the international public evaluated that all the institutions acted with success after the assassination attempt. The citizens passed a difficult test in this and they showed their wish for the continuation of the present course. I am particularly happy because President Gligorov has recovered and he will go back to his duties at the beginning of the New Year and will be with us again. We can now definitely say that the assassination attempt failed as regards the direct and indirect desired consequences.

[Mitevski] Are there any retired persons in your family and how do they react to the situation concerning the [delayed] payment of pensions? Can they hope for the better?

[Crvenkovski] I normally meet retired persons in my family and among the friends in my everyday work. They all ask, without exception, whether they can expect better days, because in the last years retired people have been put in a very bad situation and have faced great uncertainty. We succeeded in stabilizing the fund in the last year and in providing payment of pensions in 30 days. This was not easy, and it is not easy even now. Normally the pensioners, like all the other people, ask whether what had been lost can be recovered. I personally expect a positive turning point in the economy in 1996 because of the real circumstances that will have a positive reflection. I personally believe that in 1996 the aged members of our society have the right to hope that the New Year will be more pleasant than the last one. On the other hand, starting from the New Year, a member of my family, my father, will join the ranks of the retired, and therefore there will be another direct pressure from the retired on me.

[Mitevski] Can you give a brief assessment of 1995, and what are your expectations for the coming 1996? Will you be the good Santa Claus by giving the people a better life?

[Crvenkovski] The year 1995 was laborious in all segments, but it was also the year in which we marked a number of successes on the international, but also on the domestic plane in total political and economic reforms. On the other hand, the latest events in the region—normalization of relations with Greece, lifting

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sanctions, governing of peace, the reached macroeconomic balance—are the basic foundations which indicate that the worst period is behind us. A period of new perspectives is coming, although it does not mean that the situation will be radically changed overnight. I believe that we will use the offered chance. Actually, if we were able to endure when it was the most difficult, we now have the right to hope for success, because many things depend on us.

The prime minister's position would be very easy if Santa Claus's technology for solving things existed. Unfortunately, life is much more difficult than children's tales say. So, you cannot solve things by using a magic wand, but there are solutions through work and labor, and I can promise that with hard labor, we can expect a better life.

On 'Integration' of Albanians

AU0601151596

[FBIS Editorial Report] Skopje PULS in Macedonian on 5 January 1996 on pages 23-26 carries an approximately 4,000-word interview with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski entitled "Defeat of Alternative in the Reserve." In the interview, the place and date not given, Crvenkovski comments on the dissatisfaction of the ethnic Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity—PDP—with the solution of the Albanian question in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM.

Asked what the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia promised the PDP but did not fulfill, he says: "We cannot talk of not fulfilling promises, because there have not been, nor will there be, any promises outside the Constitution and the laws." He goes on to say that, in his opinion, greater democracy is necessary, as well as more rights to protect and to develop the cultural and national identity of the minorities, which will lead to "a greater integration of the nationalities in the state, not to disintegration and ghettoization, if university education, for example, is to be in the languages of the minorities."

Asked if the coalition will be asking the PDP to proclaim that they accept Macedonia's Constitution, Crvenkovski says that "although the PDP representatives did not vote for the Constitution, the Constitution applies equally to all the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia. As far as an overall solution of the Albanian question is concerned, it was clear to me even from the outset of the Yugoslav crisis that not a single integral or great-state concept will be accepted, and it is a real tragedy what had to happen for this to be confirmed."

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Kwasniewski Departs for Germany, France

LD0901145996 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Almost an hour ago, President Aleksandr Kwasniewski left for Germany and France on his first official visit as head of state.

Before departure he told journalists that, among other things, he would be discussing with politicians from both those countries the schedule for Poland's joining the European Union and NATO.

When asked how he would be answering questions concerning the so-called Prime Minister Oleksy affair [allegations about spying for a foreign intelligence service], Aleksandr Kwasniewski said that he would inform his interlocutors about the democratic procedures which have been set in motion and which are aimed at clarifying these accusations. However, he added that the world approaches these events in a considerably calmer fashion than our politicians and media. He would like everyone to accept the clarification of these issues.

To Attend Mitterrand Funeral

LD0901164896 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Aleksander Kwasniewski said before leaving for Germany and France that he wants to discuss the schedule for Poland's joining the European Union and NATO. He also said that President Mitterrand's death slightly changes the schedule of his stay in France. President Kwasniewski will take part in the funeral ceremonies at Notre Dame Cathedral. [passage omitted]

Coming Visit to Bonn Previewed

WS0801155396 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 8 Jan 96 p 15

[Article by Marek Orzechowski in Bonn: "President Kwasniewski on the Rhine; A Well-Trodden Path"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Aleksander Kwasniewski's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany points to a continuation of the Polish foreign policy of steady rapprochement with Germany.*

Although there are no major snags in the relations between Poland and Germany, President Kwasniewski's visit to the banks of the Rhine will not be one of courtesy alone. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the newly elected Polish president—just like the entire nation—has the marathon of political and social polarization behind him. It became particularly intense in the course of the long and often brutal election campaign. There were moments when it posed a threat to the democratic order in our country and became—there is no use denying it—a test for the maturity of democracy in Poland. The general acknowledgement that we have passed the test does nothing to alleviate fears about the future developments in our country. The Germans are not indifferent to how Polish reforms are proceeding or to how heatedly and by what methods political disputes are settled—they are very revealing of the Polish political class that German policies have to account for.

The other issue that has an undoubtable—in some circles even decisive—impact on Poland's image and its chances for becoming part of the Western security structures are the alleged contacts Prime Minister Oleksy maintained with a foreign intelligence service. Judging by the more or less official German reactions to the last few weeks' developments in Poland, the image we project is more than embarrassing. German commentators and politicians alike were appalled by the timing and the way in which the "Oleksy affair" was disclosed. Critical opinions indicating our bellicosity, anarchism and distinctiveness were raised. The allegedly innate Polish inability to take the advantage of freedom was pointed out. Using the Sejm to bring forth unproven charges in public were described as a "third-rate show." Hence, all the negative stereotypes of our national character resurfaced. Warnings against our political immaturity were issued. Poland came to be seen as the most irresponsible and suspect of Germany's neighbors, capable of committing the most foolish deeds.

Naturally, it would be a great pity if the Polish president's talks in Bonn focused only on this topic, although no one can question the fact that President Kwasniewski has the responsibility of explaining the most recent developments as exhaustively as possible. Judging by the recent atmosphere in Bonn, the Germans have not yet lost their patience with Poland. It is not, however, the degree of Germany's patience and understanding of our internal conflicts, but the extent of Poland's political responsibility that will decide about the assessment of our chances for full integration with the West.

Relations With Germany Viewed

AU0901190296 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 9 Jan 96

[Interview with Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski by Juergen Fittich in Warsaw; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The new Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski will arrive in Germany this afternoon. Not only in Poland was his election victory surrounded by great excitement. In other countries, too, the election victory of a former communist

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was not just viewed with benevolence. The fact that the new president will make his first trip abroad to Bonn and Berlin shows how much significance he attaches to relations with Germany. Juergen Fittich spoke with Aleksander Kwasniewski in Warsaw.

[Kwasniewski] I hope that, above all, the trip will prove that Polish policy has been consistent since 1989. Germany is our most important trading partner and one of our major political partners. Germany wants to vigorously support Poland's efforts to become integrated in the European structures. I believe that contact is required at these two levels—the bilateral and the European one. Together with Chancellor Kohl and President Herzog, we will be able to determine how this can be accomplished, and in what timeframe we can achieve our goals. This is all the more true because I consider German-Polish relations extremely good and dynamic. Today one must only think about how this can be preserved in the future.

[Fittich] Relations have never been so good in the past 200 years. On the other hand, however, there is also friction. I would only like to mention the situation at the border crossings, the deadlock in negotiations about a cultural agreement, and crossborder crime. Where do you think new impulses are necessary to improve goodneighborly relations?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that one must focus on the areas where we have no problems: economic cooperation, for example, crossborder cooperation, contacts among people, political action and cooperation—not only at a central level, but also at the level of provinces, towns, and within the youth exchange scheme. All this is important and should be continued.

However, there are also problems. I would like to describe them as follows: The first is crime. Yet this is a more comprehensive problem, not merely a German-Polish one. It is an international problem. Recently it was claimed that the Polish and Russian mafia are responsible for the theft of cars and their transport to the east. In the meantime, it has become known that the Italian mafia and others are also involved. Thus, we are confronted with an international phenomenon, which requires vigorous action. We must talk about that and concentrate to a greater extent on it than in the past.

The second problem is infrastructure. It is important to facilitate contacts between our two countries. Highways, border crossings—a better infrastructure—are required for that. I think that all this can be achieved. The third big and vital problem is the increase in cultural activities on both sides. I have the impression that the citizens are not so much interested in the intellectual sphere. It would not be bad if we returned to good traditions—to organizing cultural events, for example, or intensifying activities in the sphere of film and theater. I believe that the Poles have a great deal to offer to the Germans, and the Germans to the Poles. This shows that a great deal is also to be done in this area. For this reason, my visit and my contacts are quite useful.

[Fittich] The German minority in Poland used to be considered a problem in the past. How do you assess its work and the activities of the parliamentary representatives of the German minority in Poland?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that the situation is normal now. Everything is happening in accordance with European standards. The fact that a group of deputies from the German minority, headed by Heinrich Groll, is in the Polish parliament is also proof of this normality. I believe that we should continue to behave in this way. Thus, one cannot speak of problems of the German minority. This would be searching for a controversial topic. Cooperation is developing well. I see no danger.

Kwasniewski To Visit Brussels 16-18 Jan

WS0901153996 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 9 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "The President Will Visit NATO and the Belgian Queen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *President Aleksander Kwasniewski is to pay a three-day working visit on 16-18 January to Brussels, we learned from an absolutely reliable source who asked to remain anonymous.*

Plans to include the capital of Belgium in Kwasniewski's first presidential trip abroad (to Paris and Bonn) failed; therefore the Brussels visit was planned separately.

The presidential plane is to land in Belgium on the evening of 16 January. Upon arrival, Kwasniewski is to be received at the royal court. On the morning of 17 January, he will start a whole series of talks on security issues. The Polish president will meet with Secretary General of the West European Union Jose Cutileiro [spelling of name as received] (Portuguese) at the EU security structure's headquarters. An unprecedented meeting is scheduled for 1330—NATO Secretary General Javier Solan will have the first working lunch ever with a visiting head of state. This type of meeting has never been held before. Kwasniewski and Solan know each other quite well and the Polish visitor is the first president to meet with him ever since he took the highest NATO office. At 1500 Kwasniewski will take part in a session of the NATO Ambassadors Council. He is to deliver a special address which is anxiously awaited, especially by the U.S. mission. "I have

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the genuine pleasure of confirming this information," SZTANDAR learned from Dr. Jamie Shea, the NATO secretary general's media aide.

On 18 January, Kwasniewski will hold a series of meetings with representatives of European institutions. One of them will be hosted by commisars from the EU Commission, the executive body of the structures of the uniting continent. In the evening, immediately before departing for Poland, Kwasniewski will host a dinner for businessmen from Flanders—the first region that took advantage of the privilege of Belgian federalism and signed its first cooperation agreement with us [Poland], and not with Holland as everyone had expected.

Kwasniewski Optimistic About Joining EU, NATO

AU1001104496 Munich ARD Television Network in German 2140 GMT 9 Jan 96

[Interview with Polish President Alexander Kwasniewski in Berlin by Ulrich Wickert, who is in the studio in Hamburg—live; Kwasniewski statements in Polish with superimposed German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wickert] Good evening, Mr. President.

[Kwasniewski] Good evening.

[Wickert] Has the German chancellor said that he would give you a date at which Poland could be accepted into the European Union and NATO?

[Kwasniewski] No, but the chancellor said that he is strongly in favor of enlarging NATO and the EU within a realistic period. As far as the EU is concerned, he stated what was said in Madrid before, namely that talks with the candidates should start shortly after the conference, including with Poland. I think that this timetable is very interesting for us and that we should take advantage of it. As far as NATO is concerned, the problem is more difficult, because 1996 is an election year in Russia and the United States, and these two events will have a certain impact on the decisions. Nevertheless, the federal chancellor unambiguously said that NATO extension and the establishment of new security structures in Europe are very important.

[Wickert] When will the Polish agricultural sector be ready for integration into the EU?

[Kwasniewski] Well, if I were diplomatic, I would say that we are trying as hard as we can to achieve that as quickly as possible. I am realistic, and I would like to point out that all other countries that wanted to join the EU were also having problems with their farming or fishing industry. So, Poland is not an exception in this connection. We are trying to rebuild the Polish farming industry. Yet, this is a very difficult social problem that affects millions of people. It is absolutely certain that we will solve this problem, and I am also sure that we will be able to make certain precise proposals and plans to our Western partners that will prove that the Polish agricultural sector will not constitute a problem for EU membership. That is our problem, and it is of course a complicated issue. Nevertheless, we are prepared for it, and we understand that profound changes will have to be made. On the other hand, we have already done a lot, and many things have been changed already.

[Wickert] The Western economy criticizes Polish laws that do not yet meet Western standards. Do you see that problem, too?

[Kwasniewski] There is certainly still a lot to do for us in this area. Yet, when I tell you that Germany is today the second most important investor in Poland—the Americans come first, the French are very active, and the Netherlands and Italians are present in Poland, too—then I think that conditions cannot be all that bad. They are at least good enough for investors to put money into Poland; capital is flowing to Poland. As president, I have, of course, a vision. I would like to achieve an absolutely clear and stable legal framework in Poland. We must undertake certain changes here, of course. I have made plans to this effect, and I am hoping that we will present our proposals to the Polish Parliament, the Sejm, where they should be accepted.

[Wickert] You will fly to Paris tomorrow. The French are slightly more skeptical as far as Polish EU and NATO membership are concerned. What arguments will you bring forth there?

[Kwasniewski] Maybe a philosophical argument first. What we started in Europe in 1989 not only meant the end of the Warsaw Pact and German unification. The objective of those changes was to build a common Europe, without barriers, with dialogue and cooperation. I think that this is our main argument. We must understand everything that is going on in Europe at the end of our century. It is an attempt to build our continent in a new way. I think that the French, who have always been so sensitive as far as Europe, the European continent is concerned, should understand that.

Second, I represent a country that achieved great economic success over the past few years and that is facing great chances. We do not want to take along any problems to Europe, we want to take dynamic developments to Europe, and new horizons, and, in the wake of it, maybe even a breath of fresh air. We remained outside Europe for a long time.

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Third, I think that one important argument for France can be that Poles, Germans, and French can build structures in the central European area, and that it should participate in the building of these structures that will eventually be Europe's backbone. We have the people that are capable of doing that, we are supported by the economy, and we have a tradition that is most important.

[Wickert] Thank you very much, President Kwasniewski.

[Kwasniewski] Thank you, all the best.

Freedom Union Head on Joining NATO

LD0801112896 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Freedom Union Parliamentary Floor Group [KPUW], feels that Poland joining NATO will depend upon the maturity of Polish democracy. In an interview for Polish Radio, Bronislaw Geremek stated that the so-called Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy affair, if—as he put it—Poland manages to cope with it, ought not to impinge upon the gaining by our country of membership of NATO.

Bronislaw Geremek also said that for the KPUW to take advantage of the proposal of participation in the presidential National Security Council [RBN] would be an error. In his view, this would be possible but under the condition of maintaining the special status of the foreign affairs, internal affairs, and defense ministries, earlier called the presidential ministries. According to Bronislaw Geremek, a presidential RBN with no influence upon these three ministries will not be sufficiently effective.

Daily Reports on Oleksy Visit to Poznan

WS1101124396 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Jan 96 p 1

[Article by "ZIEL:" "God, History, and Innocence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"In this case, it is the charges that are to be proved, not my innocence!" After this statement at a meeting with active members of the Democratic Alliance of the Polish Republic, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy received a thunderous standing ovation. At an earlier press conference, the Prime Minister said to the press: "God and history will judge what has happened."*

Jozef Oleksy arrived in Poznan on Saturday [6 January], at the Governor's invitation. The highlight of the visit was a traditional New Year meeting with representatives of, among others, politics, business, culture, and the mass media. The premier also met with Archbishop Henryk Muszynski, the Gniezno metropolitan. With no media representatives present, they exchanged information on the progress on preparations for next year's commemoration of St. Adalbert's, who died a martyr 1,000 years ago.

During his visit to Poznan, the premier confirmed that he was not thinking of stepping down. As of Monday, however, the premier is going to take a few days' annual leave.

Will There Be No Resignation?

The Saturday edition of RZECZPOSPOLITA charged the premier with having attempted to impose his own interpretation of events on the society (regarding the accusations of his cooperation with foreign intelligence—ed.) by issuing public statements. "If such values as dignity, decency, priority of civil service are to have any significance for statehood, then Premier Oleksy should go," the text, signed by the entire editorial staff, read. "I can see no reasons to step down," responded Oleksy, downplaying the appeal at the press conference. "RZECZPOSPOLITA is today disclosing the real intentions of started after Lech Walesa was defeated in the last elections; that is, his intention to decompose and destabilize the ruling coalition, beginning with the premier, down through derailing the coalition to—perhaps—new parliamentary elections," Oleksy added. In his opinion, "the more intense demands for his stepping down" are yet to begin. "No one is waiting for the decision" he complained. The premier also suggested that "political calculation will come first, where many will be tempted by circumstances."

Oleksy noted that "this matter, which was not clear, will not help Poland. "It is only detrimental to her image."

Will There Not Be a Coalition?

Asked about stability of the present ruling coalition, the premier did not conceal "certain" fears and, pointed to their precise roots: "I think that the coherence of the coalition depends a great deal on the Polish Peasant Party; that is, on the extent to which the platform objectives, embedded in the [coalition] agreement, will still be regarded as unifying." He also noted that "at present we have a time of political struggle." "Occasions are aplenty to undermine the coalition. It is constantly being put to test, and way it can take it will be a touchstone of its durability."

Will There Not Be a Parliament?

Oleksy declares that he would want the parliament to last until the end of its term, but he asked the following rhetorical questions: "But will this occur?

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Won't anything happen that might make the partners change their criteria?" So, if it ever came to a conflict within the coalition, the premier sees no obstacles to the elections being accelerated. "Please do not interpret it in such a way that I am clearly opting for acceleration of parliamentary elections," Oleksy cautioned the journalists.

Government Spokeswoman on Oleksy's Leave

WS0901153596 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by Rafal Szubstarski, "SAR": "The Prime Minister's Leave—Short and Apolitical"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Jozef Oleksy has taken one week's leave to rest. [Government Spokeswoman] Aleksandra Jakubowska claims the prime minister will not resign. Meanwhile, as many as 68 percent of Poles polled by the Social Research Laboratory [PBS] claim that Oleksy should withdraw from politics at least until the charges brought against him are cleared up.*

Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak has been assigned to replace Oleksy until the latter resumes duties.

Government Spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska stated that Oleksy's leave has nothing to do with the charges of collaborating with the KGB that have been brought against him.

"The prime minister had planned to take a few days off earlier. The developments of the last several days only caused him to reschedule his leave so that he could be at the disposal of the special Sejm commission," said Jakubowska.

She also stated that Oleksy does not intend to prolong his holiday and any speculations on the topic should be viewed as an "expression of intentions" of the authors. "The prime minister is ready to return even earlier if the commission requests to see him again," Jakubowska added.

Before taking leave, Oleksy wrote a letter to Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych assuring that he would remain "fully impartial and objective" on the issue of the charges that he had collaborated with a foreign intelligence service.

"To my view, the prime minister's statement indicates that he will not take part in any debates in future," said Zych. The speaker also spoke with Jakubowska, who assured him she would be "restrained in her statements."

Zych called on members of the Sejm commission investigating the Oleksy affair to refrain from "discussions and polemics" on the charges against the prime minister until the Sejm commission and the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office reach their final conclusions.

Jakubowska said that the prime minister has no intention of resigning.

A poll carried out by PBS at the request of RZECZPOSPOLITA shows that 29 percent of Poles claim Oleksy should resign. A further 30 percent believe that the prime minister should remain on leave until the charges presented by [former Interior] Minister Milczanowski are cleared up

Some 28 percent of those polled claim he should remain in office and 13 percent do not have an opinion on the issue.

More than half state Milczanowski did the right thing in disclosing the suspicions that Oleksy had collaborated with foreign intelligence. One-third claim the opposite.

Jakubowksa said that far-fetched conclusions should not be drawn from a single opinion poll. She also denied the rumors that the government intends to take over the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily in which the State Treasury currently holds a 49 percent stake. Last Saturday [6 January] RZECZPOSPOLITA appealed to the prime minister to resign. "The ownership transformations are targeted rather at decreasing the state shares in the daily, not increasing them," said the spokeswoman.

Civil Rights Spokesman Tadeusz Zielinski wrote a letter to Zych in defense of Oleksy. He is "increasingly apprehensive" of "the trend in the media campaign on the Oleksy affair which defies the principles of a legitimate state."

According to Zielinski, "statements issued by some politicians, and in particular press reports" on the Sejm commission, lead the citizens to falsely believe that the prime minister is "a suspect, even indicted already." The truth is, however, that no one can be called a suspect until precise charges are delivered to him.

Plans of Sejm Commission on 'Oleksy Case'

WS1001154196 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by "PW" and "JACH": "This Is What We Want To Know"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Konstanty Malejczyk, chief of the Military Information Services, yesterday submitted documents on the scope and methods applied by the intelligence service of Russia and the former Soviet Union to the Main Military Prosecutor's Office [NPW].

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At present, the Prosecutor's Office is waiting for additional evidence from the UOP [Office of State Protection] demanded by the general military prosecutor, General Ryszard Michalowski, on 22 December. The evidence is supposed to cover the "12 essential topic spheres." An unofficial sources told us that General Michalowski's questions are formal in nature and concern minor issues.

Will There Be an Investigation?

After familiarizing itmself with those documents, the NPW will decide whether it should submit them to the Garrison Prosecutor's Office of the Warsaw Military District or instigate an investigation. According to regulations, this should happen before 20 January.

General Wiktor Fonfara, chief of the UOP Board of Investigations, said that the UOP will provide the requested evidence as soon as this week. So far, we have only heard about this from the press, NPW spokesman Colonel Wlodzimierz Pospiech told us, adding that from that time on the Prosecutor's Office would inform about the progress of the case only in the "form of decisions."

A New Round of Hearings

Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, the Sejm extraordinary commission will conduct hearings in the "Oleksy case." So far, the commission has questioned Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy; twice former Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski; his successor Jerzy Konieczny; UOP Chief Gromoslaw Czempinski; Henryk Jasik, deputy interior minister dismissed by Oleksy; former Counterintelligence Chief Konstanty Miodowicz; UOP Intelligence Chief Bogdan Libera; General Marian Zacharski, adviser to the UOP chief; and General Wiktor Fonfara.

Today, those questioned will include, among others, former Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski; BBN [National Security Bureau] Deputy Chief Zbigniew Siemiatkowski; Justice Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia; Constitutional Court Chairman Andrzej Zoll; and General Ryszard Michalowski.

Opinions Are Mixed

Some of the 12 commission members, particularly those from the opposition, believe that for the time being, there are no grounds to talk about any provocation pulled off by the Polish special services against Oleksy.

However, the commission's SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] members, contend that a question must be answered whether the president-elect, before the Oleksy case was publicized, was given an ultimatum: the prime minister resigns as head of the government and a legislative deputy, and in return, the Interior Ministry would not file the case to the Prosecutor's Office.

The deputies also want to know the details of the meeting hosted by Lech Walesa in the evening of 19 December where [former Interior] Minister Milczanowski presented charges against Oleksy to chairmen of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Administrative Court, as well as to Sejm and Senate speakers. This is why the SLD members of the extraordinary commission demanded that Bartoszewski and Zoll also be questioned.

The opposition deputies invited Justice Minister Jaskiernia [fore commission's hearings], and UP's [Labor Union] Ryszard Bugaj requested the Prosecutor's Office to provide archive files on the case of a loan taken by the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] from the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] during the break of 1989 and 1990.

Meanwhile, Minister Konieczny agreed to give the commission operational evidence pertaining to the Oleksy case. From 12 January, the deputies will be able to familiarize themselves with it in the Interior Ministry building on Rakowiecka Street in Warsaw. Earlier, Ryszard Bugaj came up with such a proposal.

The commission, overseen by Sejm speaker Jozef Zych, is planning to finish its work by late January. It is expected to submit shorthand records of all of its hearings to the Military Prosecutor's Office.

Trade Commission Demands Parliament Recall Oleksy

LD1001181796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1635 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Gdansk, Jan. 10—The national commission of the solidarity trade union demanded Wednesday that parliament recall Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

In a stand adopted at a meeting in Gdansk, the commission stressed that the demand stems from the respect for basic principles of a normally functioning democratic state.

Further Developments in Oleksy Affair

WS1101133796 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jan 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Anna Marszalek and Kazimierz Groblewski: "Prosecutor's Office of the Warsaw Military District

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Will Decide Whether Proceedings Should Be Instituted; Did Oleksy Consciously Pass Information?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *After a meeting with Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] head Jerzy Konieczny and Chief Military Prosecutor Ryszard Michalowski, the Extraordinary Sejm Commission decided that "new circumstances" have surfaced in the case; now it is going to question approximately 20 people, including nearly all the officers of the Office of State Protection [UOP], for whom it will be another hearing. We managed to find out unofficially that this is because some opinions and evaluations, formulated chiefly by Konieczny and concerning the evidence and its interpretation, are contrary to the opinions expressed earlier. Members of the commission agreed that they would not reveal any information; however, it could be seen clearly that deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] were satisfied, whereas representatives of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the opposition were rather reticent.* [passage omitted]

The commission is going to question, among other people, Deputy Zbigniew Siemiatkowski (during the election campaign he accused UOP of supporting Walesa); General Zdzislaw Sarewicz, a Polish intelligence officer in Moscow; Stanislaw Iwanicki, head of President Lech Walesa's Chancellery; former presidential Spokesman Boguslaw Kowalski; and, once again, Czempinski and the UOP officers Libera, Fonfara, and Zacharski.

Chairwoman of the Commission Lucyna Pietrzyk said that the "new circumstances" surfaced after the questioning of two persons yesterday (which means that, aside from Konieczny, the other person was Czempinski, because Prosecutor Michalowski was only invited to the meeting). According to opposition deputies, this means that the UOP head distanced himself from the materials obtained by his people, as well as from the form and timing of providing them to the prosecutor's office. For SLD deputies, this means repetition of the initial opinion voiced by Konieczny that the "motion was prematurely submitted to the prosecutor's office."

Today the chief military prosecutor intends to submit files on the charges leveled at Oleksy in the Prosecutor's Office of the Warsaw Military District, which will make the final decision on whether this issue should be officially investigated. Head of the Chief Prosecutor's Office said that since 1990 all espionage cases have, as a rule, been handled by the prosecutor's office of the Warsaw Military District. After submitting the files, Michalowski will still waiting for supplementary documents from UOP. [passage omitted]

It is not known when UOP will provide the additional documents. Gromoslaw Czempinski reiterated yesterday that this would happen by Friday, but his superior Jerzy Konieczny, head of MSW, hinted that even if UOP does submit the documents, this does not mean that they will be passed on to the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office by the end of the week. [passage omitted]

Konieczny would not say anything about the appointment of his deputy. One could hear off-the-record opinions in the Sejm that PSL would like to see one of their deputies in this office: either Marian Krol or Andrzej Grzyb. The MSW head confirmed that he had ordered UOP to find out who leaked the information on the so-called Oleksy case to the press.

On Thursday the commission is going to meet with Prosecutor General Jerzy Jaskiernia and Constitutional Tribunal Chairman Andrzej Zoll (one of the participants in the meeting with Lech Walesa). [passage omitted]

Prosecutor Receives Data on Soviet, Russian Spying

LD0901161596 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Material supplied by the military information services on the scope and methods used by the special services of the former Soviet Union and Russia has reached the Supreme Military Prosecutor's office. The Supreme Military Prosecutor's office asked for this material to be supplied on 22 December 1995 when it demanded that the Ministry of Internal Affairs supply supplementary material on alleged contacts between Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy and a foreign intelligence service. According to public statements by the State Protection Office, the prosecutor's office will obtain the supplementary material this week.

Oleksy May Not Run for SdRP Chairmanship

LD0601182096 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has said that most probably he will not stand as a candidate for chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] unless the accusations against him of collaboration with a foreign intelligence service are cleared up by that time.

SdRP members are to elect their chairman at a party convention that is to take place on 27 January. Jozef Oleksy, who is visiting Poznan [western Poland], said that he is to start leave on 8 January. The prime minister did not want to talk to journalists about the spying accusations against him. He said that journalists have the right to deal with any subject, but they should not pass any verdicts.

Jozef Oleksy said that the demand for his resignation that appeared in the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily today

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[6 January] reveals the intentions of the opposition after Lech Walesa's failure [in the presidential elections].

Not Only Possible Candidate

LD0601223896 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2101 GMT 6 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Poznan, 6 Jan—Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy made the assessment in Poznan today that his candidacy for chairman of the SdRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic] is not the only one that could be considered at the approaching party convention.

"There was just one signal that my person could be considered for that post, and I did not rule it out. But I am a responsible person. The convention is planned for 27 January, and, if that date is not changed and by that time there is no greater clarity than there is today regarding the accusations against me, then I am afraid that my candidacy and the decision about it will be made considerably more difficult," the prime minister said.

He added that a second option could be envisaged, concerning the postponing of the convention. "It is disadvantageous for the party, if such a post is left unfilled for too long. I do not take an ambitious approach to this matter—I was ready to be a candidate; I knew what had to be done for Polish social democracy to be a modern, European social democracy, looking to the future. But I am not the only leader who can be considered for the post of party chairman. The party is mature, and, even if it does not postpone the convention, it will certainly elect a chairman to match its program and the future we chose together with Kwasniewski," Oleksy stressed.

Peasant Party Denies Plan To Leave Coalition

LD0501202996 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 5 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] For the time being, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] leadership is not considering the possibility of breaking the coalition with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], Polish radio has been told by Janusz Piechocinski, deputy chairman of the PSL parliamentary floor group. PSL Deputy Wladyslaw Wrona said yesterday that about 70 of the party's deputies are in favor of the party's independence and want to leave the coalition. Some Peasant Party members do not accept the actions of SLD politicians. In their opinion, the alliance harks back to the days of the Polish People's Republic. Deputy Wrona will give explanations at a meeting of the PSL parliamentary floor group on Monday.

Zych Seconds Denial

LD0901143296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych has denied reports that the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] is planning to leave the government coalition. PSL Deputy Wladyslaw Wrona has been saying that the PSL might leave the coalition with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Wrona claimed that at least 70 PSL deputies back this idea.

[Begin Zych recording] The first thing is that I think the parliamentary party cannot decide on such a matter—this is the job of the SLD main council. Second, I have never heard of such initiatives before. I do not know who has been counting, and I personally do not know how this figure of 70 has been arrived at. Of course, stances are different and there is a critical attitude to many issues. But this, above all, is why there is a coalition. I do not think that anything like this will happen in the near future. [end recording]

President Visits GS, Comments on Changes

LD0801172296 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President Aleksander Kwasniewski has announced that he will withdraw the law on the minister of national defense from the Constitutional Tribunal. He added that he will be submitting a legislative initiative to improve the country's security.

The president announced that he will withdraw the law after his first visit to the General Staff [GS] today. Former President Lech Walesa submitted a complaint with regard to the law. He was against the subordination of military prosecutors and courts to the defense minister.

The withdrawal of the law by Kwasniewski also means that the chief of the general staff will be subordinate to the civilian defense minister. The president announced that, together with the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, as well as the general staff and the National Security Office, he will prepare a bill to improve the country's security.

Kwasniewski on Military Modernization, Budget

LD0801230296 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Aleksander Kwasniewski has announced that he will withdraw the law on the office of the national defense minister from the Constitutional Tribunal. At the General Staff today, the commander of the armed forces assessed with the state

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of the country's security and the situation in the Army. [passage omitted]

During the discussion at the General Staff, much stress was placed on legislative issues. In the president's opinion, the Army must know the rules according to which it is to function. It must also know its modernization program.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] I think that a legislative initiative can be expected in this area shortly, so we can put in order what is to be included in the new constitution, what is to be included in the law on defense, and what the tasks of individual state bodies should be, what the role of the National Defense Committee [KOK] should be, and what the role of the National Security Council should be. There are simply many matters which have not been clear for years. I would like to do everything I can to clarify them—so they do not cause any conflicts—and to improve the state of the country's security. [end recording]

The chief of the general staff [General Wilecki] stressed that the dispute about the law is a political matter in which he is not interested.

[Begin Wilecki recording] I must correct here that there are certain press lies. There have been reports that the chief of staff is in favor of one or another solution. This is a strictly political solution. I really do not care. History and experience will show which solution is correct. We are awaiting constitutional solutions, and solutions in the area of other laws, particularly the law on defense rights, duties, and obligations, which will make up a kind of defense constitution for the country. If these matters are regulated with regard to remit, responsibility, and duties, the Polish state imperative will be well served. [end recording]

During his first working visit to the general staff, the commander of the Armed Forces acquainted himself with the situation in the Army and the state of the country's security. The president described it as good.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] We have a well-organized Army, and we have no threats at our borders. At the same time, I know that there are very many problems, which I discussed both with the chief of the general staff and the national defense minister—what should be done in order to continue the long and very difficult process of modernization of the Polish Army, and to increase Poland's security. [end recording]

[Nomejko] Aleksander Kwasniewski also stressed that, apart from amending the law, the other important thing is money for the Army. He announced a gradual budget increase for the modernization of the Army.

Defense Minister Dobrzanski Interviewed

LD1001173596 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0710 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent Krzysztof Skowronski] The Radio Zet's guest today is National Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski. Good morning.

[Dobrzanski] Good morning.

[Skowronski] What is the ministerial office like?

[Dobrzanski] More modest than the one belonging to the secretary of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Defense. [passage omitted]

[Skowronski] Has the report by the military information services concerning the Russian and Soviet intelligence agencies in Poland already reached your desk?

[Dobrzanski] No, I have not seen this report.

[Skowronski] Because you did not want to see it, or because you could not?

[Dobrzanski] No, perhaps this was not part of the plan. Besides, I am busy and I know that the military information services will do their job and they will do it well. Above all, it is up to the prosecutor how he wants to approach the matter. I receive reports, but of different nature. [passage omitted]

[Skowronski] What are the most important tasks facing you now?

[Dobrzanski] The most important task is the introduction of the law on the minister of national defense. As you have probably already heard, ladies and gentlemen, President Kwasniewski has withdrawn from the Constitutional Tribunal the law about which the previous president filed a complaint. Now my most important and urgent task will be to introduce this law. This law is of enormous importance...

[Skowronski, interrupts] What problems can arise before the law is introduced? Do you envisage any problems?

[Dobrzanski] I do not envisage any. There are always problems of some sort, but the time element is the most important here. I want to do it very quickly. [passage omitted]

[Skowronski] Does the new law on the defense minister guarantee civilian control of the army?

[Dobrzanski] It does.

[Skowronski] One hundred percent?

[Dobrzanski] Yes, 100 percent. But I must express one reservation here. A law is a law. It is a difficult

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document. It does guarantee civilian control of the army, but we have to pass a few other documents as well, among other things, the law on defense duties. We have to pass a law on military gendarmerie, a law on military special services, and above all, we must introduce appropriate provisions in the new Constitution. This is still ahead of us. But one can say that already this law on the defense minister brings us into the group of countries that manage their defense systems in a modern way.

[Skowronski] In what direction will the reform of the Polish army go? Will it go in the direction of a professional army, or will things remain the way they are now?

[Dobrzanski] I would like the reform to go in the direction of a professional army, although I am aware that this will be a very slow process. We are already going in this direction by implementing so-called extended service when specialist equipment is involved. This is used more and more often in the army. It is not possible to train soldiers to use such equipment in a short period of time. For this reason in some areas we have to employ, and give such equipment for use, to soldiers who are well-trained professionals or soldiers who have an extended-service status.

[Skowronski] There is an opinion that the Polish army is very poorly equipped. What can you change in this area?

[Dobrzanski] Let us not exaggerate that it is very poorly equipped.

[Skowronski] Is it not your professional optimism when you say that things are not so bad?

[Dobrzanski] No, it is not professional optimism. I would not like it to be received as just optimism because my subordinates, the soldiers, would not be pleased either. They might think that I do not notice any weaknesses that occur. I do notice them. However, we have a considerable amount of good equipment, unfortunately not in all specialized military areas. And we do complain about it. We do not have good enough funds for training, for example. But also here we have found modern training systems, used by the most well-off armies in the world. You have to realize this too.

[Skowronski] What purchases does the Polish army intend to make? Does it intend to make them in Poland or abroad?

[Dobrzanski] This is a controversial matter. Some people accuse me of emphasizing too much stress on buying in Poland and that, as a result, the army may suffer, that the equipment will be of poor standard. It is not true. Of course, I will give the Polish arms industry preferential treatment, and we will attempt to place as many orders as we can with the Polish industry; but not at the expense of quality. I stress this clearly—not at the expense of quality.

I believe that in order to create a strong defense system one has to have a strong economy. The minister of national defense should take this fact into account in his policies. In other words, he should be a good ally of his colleagues who are in charge of the country's economic affairs.

[Skowronski] There have been ideas to privatize the arms industry in Poland. Do you support or oppose these ideas?

[Dobrzanski] I am in favor of privatization of the arms industry, but with certain reservations. This industry should be privatized, but the state should maintain its control over it.

[Skowronski] What do you mean—private companies under state control?

[Dobrzanski] Yes, the state capital should own the majority of the stakes.

[Skowronski] So, what you have in mind is semi-privatization not complete privatization?

[Dobrzanski] No, no. You must bear in mind that the system of managing these enterprises will completely change when the enterprises are based on sound market principles.

[Skowronski] President Aleksander Kwasniewski is going to Brussels soon. Will you go with him?

[Dobrzanski] It has not been decided yet.

[Skowronski] And when it will be decided? The trip is quite soon.

[Dobrzanski] I cannot tell you this. [passage omitted]

[Skowronski] What do you think our NATO membership depends on?

[Dobrzanski] I think that the most important matter is to sort out our affairs here in Poland, that is the legal and organizational matters connected with the army, as well as political, internal matters. The key to NATO membership is in Poland. I keep repeating this and I will act according to this principle. This does not mean that we will stop any activity abroad. It has to continue, too.

We heard the news today and yesterday. It transpires from President Kwasniewski's conversation with Chancellor Kohl that we should sort out our relations with

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Russia properly. It is a very important issue connected with our aspirations to NATO membership.

[Skowronski] What does it mean to sort out our relations with Russia properly? Are they not good?

[Dobrzanski] I do not think they are developed well enough yet. That is, the possibilities are considerably greater.

[Skowronski] How should these relations develop?

[Dobrzanski] Primarily, we would like to emphasize economic matters. The capabilities of Polish export and possibilities for mutual trade exchange are enormous, but they are not taken advantage of sufficiently.

[Skowronski] Are you talking about the export of Polish weapons and import of Russian ones?

[Dobrzanski] No, I am speaking broadly.

[Skowronski] About potatoes?

[Dobrzanski] Yes, I am talking broadly about crude oil, etc, etc. We have done a lot in this area, but still much remains to be done. This will be a good base for mutual cooperation, political, cultural, and scientific.

[Skowronski] Has the money been found to pay for the Polish battalion to go to Bosnia?

[Dobrzanski] Yes, there were no problems about that. Of course, the government will still discuss some issues connected with that.

[Skowronski] When will the battalion leave?

[Dobrzanski] The final date has not been set yet, but it will be around 20th to 27th [month not specified]. [passage omitted]

In my opinion for the last two years I prepared myself very well for the job of minister of national defense. I was dealing with defense issues, as well as with other matters broadly, while working at the Council of Ministers. I completed my national service and I am a noncommissioned officer in the reserve. It seems to me that there is sufficient justification for me to perform this job.

[Skowronski] Will you recall the chief of the General Staff?

[Dobrzanski] I do not want to comment on this matter at all, not on any personnel matters.

[Skowronski] Are you planning any measures?

[Dobrzanski] This is just a rephrased question, but it still concerns the same thing. That is why I will not answer it. As I already said, we must ensure calm for the army. For this reason we will discuss personnel matters after they arise. After, after.

[Skowronski] Thank you very much. Today's guest of Radio Zet was Stanislaw Dobrzanski, the minister of national defense.

[Dobrzanski] Thank you very much.

Interior Minister Names Counterintelligence Chief

LD1001181996 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1555 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 10 Jan—Internal Affairs Minister Jerzy Koniecz ny told journalists at the Sejm today that yesterday he had appointed Colonel Andrzej Kapkowski to the post of the head of counterintelligence at the State Protection Office.

Before his appointment, Kapkowski had been deputy head of counterintelligence.

Walesa Wants To Return to Work at Gdansk Shipyard

LD0801195196 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 8 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Lech Walesa has expressed his wish to return to work at the Gdansk Shipyard, Gdansk radio has been told by Jerzy Borowczak, chairman of the Gdansk shipyard independent self-governing trade union Solidarity. He said that the former president wants to return to the shipyard as an electrician in the transport department. According to Borowczak, Lech Walesa has received many interesting proposals concerning, among other things, activity in various organizations.

Jerzy Dolezko, director for organizational matters at the shipyard, said that so far he has not received an application for reemployment from the former president.

Further on Walesa's Plans

LD0801215496 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Jan 96

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lech Walesa is considering the possibility of returning to his old job as an electrician at the Gdansk Shipyard. He has told Jerzy Borowczak, leader of the Solidarity shipyard, about this intention.

At the moment, the former president is at home in Polanki Street in Gdansk. He is suffering from influenza. In a telephone conversation, Mrs. Danuta Walesa confirmed her husband's intention to return to his old job at the shipyard. Lech Walesa is currently taking advantage

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of a three-months' leave and he wants to start work in the spring.

[Begin Borowczak recording] I think that, irrespective of the situation today, his intention to return to work is firm. The president has decided to return to work at the Gdansk Shipyard. [end recording]

It is certainly too early to say for sure that he will return to the same job he left at the beginning of 1989 when he was reelected Solidarity chairman.

The significant thing is that on 5 November—that is during the first round of the presidential elections, on Minister Zakrzewski's suggestion—the president, who was still in office, visited his old workplace in the Gdansk Shipyard transport department. According to Jerzy Borowczak, the shipyard management has much more interesting job proposals for the former president but they will not be able to forbid him to return to his former job.

[Begin Borowczak recording] I think that, no later than 9 January, the shipyard head of personnel should receive a letter saying that Lech Walesa's leave is coming to an end and requesting employment in the post of electrician at the shipyard transport department. We call it [word indistinct]. [end recording]

One cannot rule out that in this way Lech Walesa wants to protest against the lack of a formal way of regulating what a person who has been holding the highest post in the country for five years should do after the expiration of his term in office.

Professor Bronislaw Geremek said he had heard about that idea from Walesa a month ago already. Initially, he thought that it was a joke. However, he admits that Polish law does not know what to do with an outgoing president.

Geremek recalled that the opposition had come up with a proposal that Walesa should become an honorary senator of the Republic. This would have resolved several issues, including the financial ones. However, after an initial agreement from the ruling coalition parliamentarians, the idea was discarded, it seems for good.

[Begin Geremek recording] When you hear that a former president of a large country will all of a sudden pick up a screwdriver and start putting screws in and replacing light bulbs, that is return to his old job as a worker—such news is slightly surprising. It is a paradoxical decision, which arouses astonishment, but a decision that has some inherent logic. A worker, the creator of Solidarity, and a president is coming back to his roots. [end recording]

Walesa has no party of his own, no headquarters, no staff. The situation is slightly similar to the one in the 1970's when Walesa used to come to Warsaw and stayed overnight at parish houses. We used to have meetings with him in church halls, Geremek said.

Date of Return: After 23 Mar

LD0901212896 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Lech Walesa will resume work at the shipyard as an electrician, but not earlier than 23 March, Jerzy Borowczak, head of Solidarity at the Gdansk Shipyard, has announced. He explained that on this very day a three-month notice due to the head of state [as regards presidential salary] would expire. Borowczak also said that the former president had rejected the offer to become the head of the shipyard's Solidarity.

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Intelligence Head Releases Parts of Security File

AU0501174896 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Intelligence Serice—the counterintelligence—has publicly admitted that in the past he was a member of the Securitate—Nicolae Ceausescu's political police.

Parts of Magureanu's personal file, who has been the director of the Intelligence Service since it was established in 1990, were published today in the Romanian press.

He himself has provided information to the newspapers, explaining that he considers it his duty to do so.

According to Romanian press reports published in 1992, Magureanu, who is a close friend of President Iliescu, was one of the participants in the trial and execution of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu on 25 December 1989.

Tudor: Magureanu 'Beginning To Panic' Over Past

AU0801183896 Bucharest ZIUA in Romanian 4 Jan 96 p 1

[Report by M.F.: "Magureanu's File Foreshadows a Storm"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The SRI Considers That Magureanu May Be Its Director, Even If He Used To Be a Securitate Collaborator

SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] Spokesman Nicolae Ulieru yesterday told the MEDIAFAX news agency that he was not authorized to confirm whether Director Virgil Magureanu had informed the SRI Leading Council of his intention to send his file about his past as a resident of the former Securitate to be published in the daily newspaper EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. Asked whether the SRI director had obtained his file via official channels, at his request, Ulieru replied that he did not know how Magureanu had acquired the file, but admitted that not every member of the SRI Leading Council or ordinary citizen had access to his own Securitate file. The spokesman also stated that he saw no incompatibility between Magureanu's status as a former Securitate informer, in 1963-64, and his current position as SRI director. Ulieru pointed out that Article 27 of the law on the SRI only prohibits the employment of those former Securitate people, informers, or PCR [Romanian Communist Party] activists, who, as members of repressive institutions, committed abuses and violated human rights.

On 29 December 1995, SRI Director Virgil Magureanu sent the daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI, for publishing, his Securitate resident file, from which it transpired that he had collaborated with that institution between September 1963 and October 1964. In a memorandum to the director of the newspaper, Magureanu asserts that his gesture should not be understood as a wish to try to exculpate himself, but rather to "make everything clear."

Senator C.V. Tudor Claims That He Will Send Magureanu's "Complete File" to the Panel Exerting Control Over the SRI

In a statement yesterday to the PRO FM radio station, Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor [chairman of the Greater Romania Party—PRM] said that he would send Virgil Magureanu's complete file to the parliamentary committee for control over the SRI. The PRM senator also claimed that he was in possession of evidence proving, beyond any doubt, that Magureanu had continued to work for the Securitate even after 1964, during which time he was made captain of that intelligence body, his Securitate code name being Mihai Mihaila. According to the PRM leader, the publication in EVENIMENTUL ZILEI of certain fragments from the SRI director's file proves that Magureanu "is beginning to panic." Vadim Tudor considers that Magureanu's appointment as SRI head violates the law on the organization and functioning of that institution, as one of its articles stipulates that no former Securitate informer may be employed by it. "Mr. Magureanu was more than just an informer, he was the leader of a network," Tudor added.

The Panel Exerting Control Over the SRI Will Meet With Magureanu To Discuss the Legality of Publishing His Securitate Collaborator File

In an interview broadcast by BBC radio, PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Senator Vasile Vacaru, the chairman of the parliamentary committee for control over the SRI, stated that he had been taken by surprise by this gesture by the SRI director in publishing his Securitate collaborator file. He claimed that the members of the panel had no knowledge of this decision by Magureanu. On 9 January, the parliamentary panel for control over the SRI is to meet, with Magureanu also present, to examine the consequences and legal aspects of the publication of his file by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI.

[Bucharest daily ADEVARUL in Romanian on 4 January 1996 on page 2 carries an unattributed report on the same issue, which contains the following additional information: "Some members of the panel for control over the SRI noted, however, that Magureanu had not admitted, either in front of the panel or Parliament [during the hearings preceding his appointment as SRI director], al-

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though he was asked, that he had ever promised to collaborate with the Securitate. They wonder why Magureanu did not suffer a similar sincerity fit then, as it would have been only natural, during the hearings preceding his appointment. The answer to this question may be found in the 29 December issue of weekly ROMANIA MARE [official PRM weekly], in which someone hiding behind two funny-sounding pseudonyms threatens Virgil Magureanu that the weekly would publish File No. 15827, which is precisely the one of the SRI director, and therefore the latter wanted to best C.V. Tudor by being first to put the merchandise on the market."]

Magureanu's File Causes 'Waves' of Disapproval

AU0901203596 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 5 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by Rodica Ciobanu: "Frontal Attack Against Virgil Magureanu"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Former Securitate Boss Stefan David Asks the Prosecuting Magistracy To Press Charges Against Him

Publishing Virgil Magureanu's Securitate file continues to stir great agitation. As is known, the file was sent for publishing by the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] director himself, who, in this way, admits that during the 1963-64 period he collaborated with the former Securitate. According to some members of the parliament panel exerting control over the SRI activity, Magureanu had not informed the panel members about this episode in his life. Vasile Vacaru [chairman of the SRI-controlling panel] announced that next week that body will organize a hearing with Virgil Magureanu and will examine whether publishing his file was legal or not. PAC [Civic Alliance Party] Deputy Gheorghe Gorun, one of the members of the panel, said that he will request his colleagues to recommend that President Iliescu fire Virgil Magureanu from his office, as—in Gorun's opinion—he has violated certain articles in the National Security Bill, as well as the Bill on the Organization and Functioning of the SRI.

A very harsh reaction came from PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] Senator Stefan David, one of the members of the Senate Defense and National Security Panel, who, before 1989, used to be the head of the Caras-Severin County Securitate. In a statement made yesterday to BBC radio, David said General Prosecutor Vasile Manea Dragulin should press charges against Virgil Magureanu for his having published the file. Should the general prosecutor fail to do this, Stefan David announced that he will personally send a written request to the General Prosecuting Magistracy. The senator invoked Article 27 in the National Security Bill, according to which employees of the former Securitate are compelled to keep state and professional secrets even after they left office. He also referred to the bill on the SRI, which prohibits publishing, for over 40 years, the documents of the former Securitate.

Neither do the political leaders and his former SRI colleagues treat Virgil Magureanu leniently. PD [Democratic Party] Deputy Adrian Severin declared yesterday that the SRI director's "self-denunciation" is part of a public opinion-manipulating campaign which is related to the war going on behind the scenes to win the 1996 elections. He considers that Magureanu abused his office by using his capacity as SRI head to obtain his file.

General Dumitru Cristea, former deputy of the current SRI chief, who in the summer of 1994, following a public scandal, was forced to step down, made the following statement to the MEDIAFAX news agency: "In the future the situation may evolve in such a way that certain political personalities will have to risk their careers on Magureanu's hand, because they will be left no other choice. Under the current circumstances it is impossible for the SRI to run normally; hence, Mr. Magureanu should draw the necessary conclusion." In Gen. Cristea's opinion Senator Vasile Vacaru, the chairman of the parliament panel exerting control over the SRI activity, ought to step down. "The control panel runs the risk of becoming irremediably ridiculous. Displaying elementary decency, Mr. Vacaru should immediately hand in his resignation and lay down his prerogative to coordinate the activity of such an important institution for the well-functioning of the law-governed state," asserted the general.

The sole dissonance in this repudiating choir comes from Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, the president of the PNL [National Liberal Party], according to whom Virgil Magureanu proved to be a courageous man, whose example should be followed by all political personalities who "should keep their Securitate files at home."

And while the agitated waves grow higher, the SRI director cannot be found in his office. He is spending a few days in the country, at a place that is, of course, secret.

SRI Director Discusses His File's Publication

AU1101173796 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Jan 95 p 1

["Exclusive" interview with Virgil Magureanu, Romanian Intelligence Service director, by unidentified ADEVARUL reporter; place and date not given: "I Did Not

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Take My File From the SRI Archives; the Published Document Is One of the Copies Currently Circulating"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ADEVARUL] Professor, you have thrown into the information market a bombshell that has perplexed public opinion—we are referring to the publishing of your former Securitate file—and then you left on a short holiday. Now, returning to your office after 10 days, what can you say about this unexpected act?

[Magureanu] On 29 December I presented for publishing the bomb about which you are talking. The fact itself is indeed unprecedented, namely, that somebody should publish his own "resident" file. But I proceeded in this way just to clarify certain biographic aspects that I saw provoked so much interest. On the other hand, the shock effect and sensation imminently accompanies such an act, although, frankly, if you ask me how I now perceive the reactions that it provoked, I did not expect them to be so ample.

[ADEVARUL] Let us return to the reason for your action....

[Magureanu] As for the purpose of such an action, I would like to say a few words about it. First of all, I was interested in clarifying a biographic moment which, I believe, has nothing shadowy about it. And although the published documents, taken as such, could mean something detrimental in my biography, in fact there was nothing of which I could be ashamed during the period in question. As a matter of fact, referring strictly to the contents of the file, I would like to say that, as I mentioned in my letter that accompanied the document presented for publication, those at the former Securitate intentionally wrote this period down as being of about one year. In reality the relations did not function at all. I do not say this to excuse myself, but to explain the facts as they happened at that time.

[ADEVARUL] In any event, it is known that also later, especially in the eighties, you were in the focus of the former Securitate.

[Magureanu] Concerning this last period in my life, which I also heard that the public is particularly interested in, maybe we will have the opportunity to speak separately, in another interview. However, indeed, in the last 10 years, up to 1989, the Securitate showed a special interest in me, going so far as to take reprisal measures against me and my family.

[ADEVARUL] Nonetheless, Mr. Director, what made you, who are known as a very lucid person, make this ill-timed decision in the last hours of the year?

[Magureanu] The act itself, made under the pressure of time, disconcerted even me; then, of course, it could not help surprising others. I did not wish to lose the initiative of publishing this document myself. Therefore, I decided that I would rather present it for publication than wait until it appears somewhere else, accompanied by who knows what questionable interpretation. This is the only excuse and the only explanation for its ill-timed publication.

[ADEVARUL] Let us call a spade a spade: are you referring to the Greater Romania Party [PRM] leader's attempt to submit you to psychological pressure or to blackmail?

[Magureanu] In specific terms, I am indeed referring to this because a warning appeared in the last issue in 1995 of the [PRM's] ROMANIA MARE magazine, saying that they will publish my file and they even disclosed its registration number. It was clear that they will publish this document and I did not wish this initiative to belong to them. But, as I mentioned before, considering that I have nothing to hide from the public, I wished in this way to clarify a point in my biography, which I was informed is causing some concern.

[ADEVARUL] Representatives of the Parliamentary Commission, but also a number of political leaders, raised the issue that you made public the contents of the file—even if it is your own file—thereby violating the law.

[Magureanu] It would be an exaggeration to say that the law clearly prohibits this. For a document that concerns me and no one else, I believe that the initiative should belong to me. Especially—I want to repeat it—considering that copies of this file have been circulating in various places. I also obtained one such copy and I realized that, on the contrary, it would be against the law and against the principle of openness and the rules of the political game in a rule-of-law state to try and make it disappear. Or, what is even more serious, to try and cover it up. I do not know if anybody can avail oneself of the strict text of a certain law which prohibits or grants the right for such an action. I do not really believe that invoking the law in such circumstances would serve anything. However, I believe that publishing my own file is not and cannot be—in the spirit of the law—any kind of abuse.

In connection with this, I would also like to add something: this file was not taken from the archives by me, and I did not ask for it specially by making use of my position as director of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI]. I did not even know of its existence. Or rather, I could say that I had even forgotten about it. However, shortly after my election to the position

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of director at the joint session of the two chambers of parliament, after the 1993 report, the former first deputy director of the SRI, General Marcu, brought me this file in an envelope from Timisoara. I kept this envelope because it regarded me directly, and I did not know at that time what to do with it. Anyway, I kept it.

However, due to the circumstances that I described, copies of it started circulating and, as you also have mentioned, there was the possibility that I did not wish anybody to use it to put pressure on me or blackmail me. There is nothing in my biography that anybody could use to blackmail me.

[ADEVARUL] Nevertheless, do you not find it strange that no one, of those who now cite the law, asks the question before anything else of where have others obtained such a file and how is it possible to circulate such documents that can be used for political purposes?

[Magureanu] You see, nobody has asked such a question and, if you are going to read the echoes emerging after publishing my file, you will see that nobody questioned the legitimacy of the gesture of those who made copies and were getting ready to put pressure on me with the information about me, rather everybody is insistently asking about the legality of my action. And you will see that there is nothing clear-cut in the letter of the law on this issue and—I repeat it—I believe that there is nothing illegal in it.

In fact, there is a more general situation prevailing in our country. Very often, documents that are not meant to be published—some are confidential, others can cause damage to the state policy if they are published—are nevertheless circulating, and have been obtained through obscure means and nobody has any restriction as far as their use is concerned.

[ADEVARUL] Do you believe that through this precedence, other persons, who are in the same situation, might take advantage of this and ask that their own files or even ask that certain files be made known to the public?

[Magureanu] First of all, I wish to emphasize that as far as I am concerned, I am in no way entitled to speak about what others would do in a situation like mine. However, I can state that there is a greater possibility of people using various data, various documents for the purpose of blackmail in extremely sensitive times such as the electoral period. This type of information has probably been stored somewhere and will be used. However, I wish to make the following point: our institution, from the storage that it still has—unnaturally—will not allow any kind of leak for the purpose of putting pressure on somebody.

[ADEVARUL] Can we assume that your decision has a strictly personal character?

[Magureanu] I want to make it very clear in this interview on such an unusual issue that this is the major idea: what I have done is a personal gesture and I bear personal responsibility for its implications.

[ADEVARUL] The current affair reminds us of some events that have brought your institution to the limelight: Terasa Anda, the Razvan Ungureanu case, the story with Captain Soare.... Are we perhaps confronted with the old Securitate's attempts to reestablish its past positions?

[Magureanu] I believe that the answer includes two distinctive aspects. A first problem is that the events mentioned by you, of which some have a very strong ridiculous nature, must be treated separately. This shows, as the Ungureanu case in Iasi, that some older attitudes are persisting among some of our employees and, on the other hand—see the Terasa Anda affair—it shows that a gross act of deprofessionalizing has taken place, which also exaggerated this occurence. When the parliamentary commission issues its verdict, we will be able to talk more about this issue. However, referring to the second part of your question, I must admit that certain Securitate officers, who today occupy other positions, tried to get involved in those cases to produce confusion and even tried to appear under false identities to complicate things, such as in the Patrievici-Soare case. I am compelled to admit that some of them have legal activities in the so-called detective and bodyguard organizations. I mentioned this because the newspaper ADEVARUL itself, completely justified, raised this issue.

[ADEVARUL] The Romanian Intelligence Service has offered since 1990 the image of a stable institution, which kept itself far from intrigues and political struggle. What do you think, to what extent will the position and the stability of the SRI be affected by this event?

[Magureanu] I would like to think that the stability of the institution will not have to suffer, regardless of what the consequences of these events will be. And the reverberations that we have from within show that, although the unfolding of the case has been followed with normal interest by our personnel, it is clear that the stability of the institution has not been particularly affected.

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SRI Deputy Chief Denies Divulging Secret Files

AU0901211296 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliamentary commission in charge of supervising the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] today questioned Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor in connection with his accusations against SRI Director Virgil Magureanu, regarding the latter's alleged collaboration with the former Securitate. After the hearing, Greater Romania Party [PRM] Senator Tudor told the press that the main reasons for his demand to have the SRI director dismissed or suspended referred to the latter's involvement in politics and in the December 1989 events, to his jeopardizing national security, and to his violation of the law.

Answering the questions of the many journalists present, the PRM senator said that Parliament and the Romanian society in general should find the optimum framework and mechanism to prohibit the access to the files of the former Securitate. He refrained from naming a possible successor to Magureanu and said that he wants to protect a part of the sources of the data and documents included in the files forwarded to the parliamentary commission.

Our correspondent Danila Simionescu also told us that the parliamentary commission then questioned General Victor Marcu, former first deputy SRI director. After the hearing, Division Gen. Marcu said that he has never supplied files or documents from the SRI archives—including Virgil Magureanu's file—to the press or other interested people. Gen. Marcu has personally demanded to be heard by the parliamentary commission in charge of supervising the SRI in order to state this. In answer to a question from journalists, the former SRI first deputy director said that Mr. Magureanu's gesture of publishing his own file, as it was drawn up by the former Securitate, represents a violation of the law, but that it has no repercussions on the national security. Gen. Marcu added that he handed over to Mr. Magureanu his own file in 1993, in a sealed envelope.

Tonight, the parliamentary commission in charge of supervising the SRI began the hearing of SRI Director Virgil Magureanu.

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Federal

Granic, Milutinovic Discuss Peace Process

AU1001213596 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Milan Milutinovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, who paid a one-day working visit to the FRY, discussed open issues in relations between the two countries. Minister Granic invited the Yugoslav diplomatic head to visit Croatia in February.

The talks stressed the significance of the consistent implementation of the peace agreement for the success of the peace process, building of trust, and stabilization of the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Also stressed was the need for the signatories to consistently observe the Basic Agreement on the Srem-Baranja Region, as well as the need to extend full support to the UN administration in the unbiased and comprehensive implementation of the agreement.

The meeting between the foreign ministers also focused on the normalization of relations between the FRY and the Republic of Croatia on the basis of the agreement reached in Dayton, with an accent on readiness to continue joint efforts in realizing the agreed.

When discussing the issue of Prevlaka, the Yugoslav side pointed out the need to observe the principles agreed upon, and the need to reach a realistic compromise that would be in the interest of both Yugoslavia and Croatia, as well as the unhindered implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was stressed in talks between the diplomatic heads of Yugoslavia and Croatia that open economic issues that are in the interest of both sides also had to be solved. The most important issues pertain to the restoration of road, air, railway, and river traffic, the operation of the oil pipeline, restoration of electricity links, improvement of telephone traffic, establishing postal services, and other issues.

The Yugoslav side urged the full protection of the position and rights of Serbs in Croatia, and the abolition of all legal regulations and practices regarding national and religious discrimination. They urged the full observance of UN, OSCE, and Paris Treaty principles.

It was also stressed that conditions have to be created for the unhindered and safe return of all Serbs who were expelled or fled from Krajina and western Slavonia to their ancestral homes under international patronage. The principle of free choice regarding the place of residence for all refugees needs to be universally observed. Particular stress was placed on the protection and guarantees for the right to the property of Serb refugees and expelled persons, as well as FRY citizens who own property in Croatia.

Positive experiences in the activity up to now of the FRY Government and Croatian Government bureaus in Zagreb and Belgrade was also noted, as was readiness to improve their future work through expansion of authority, particularly in consular matters.

Zagreb Radio on Negotiations

LD1001150596 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] As we have been reporting, Dr. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and his aides, who are on a working visit to Belgrade, have met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The second round of talks with Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic is underway. Tihomir Vinkovic reports from Belgrade:

[Vinkovic] Although there has been no official press statement, it has been learned that, as expected, the main topics of the talks were the fate of missing persons, the normalization of relations, the implementation of the basic agreement on the reintegration of Croatia's occupied east, the implementation of the Dayton accord, the predicament of the Serb minority in Croatia and of the Croat minority in Yugoslavia, and the issue of succession.

The issue of missing persons is a painful one; the process of exchanging data must be speeded up and the whole problem should be (?depoliticized). It was agreed in principle that representatives of each side's missing persons commission will meet next week. It has been learned from circles close to the delegations that an agreement has been reached on the need to implement [word indistinct] the basic agreement and the Dayton agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

With reference to the status of national minorities, the Croatian position remains the same: all the rights of Serbs in Croatia are guaranteed under the constitutional law and in accordance with international standards. Belgrade is expected to apply the same in the case of Croats in Yugoslavia. In Croatia's view, any normalization of relations must be based on mutual recognition within internationally recognized borders while at the same time tackling concrete issues—the restoration of railway, road, PTT, and air traffic.

Although the agenda of the visit does not envisage any statements by the two ministers, a large group of

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journalists has nevertheless gathered waiting for the two ministers to end their talks.

Granic Upbeat on Talks

LD1001220296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2050 GMT 10 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—Croatian Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Mate Granic stated that the talks he held in Belgrade on Wednesday represented 'a step ahead in the normalization of relations' between Yugoslavia and Croatia.

Granic, who was on a one-day visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), held talks with President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

In assessing the talks as 'open and comprehensive,' Granic confirmed at a press conference here that Croatia and the F.R.Y. were firmly supporting the Dayton peace agreement.

The talks in Belgrade meant a major step also in the understanding of problems within bilateral relations, especially regarding transport links, said Granic and added that accords on these questions would be stepped up.

The Croatian side 'hoped for a visit by Minister Milutinovic as soon as the latter part of the next month,' said Granic.

Milutinovic on Normal Relations

LD1001221296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2057 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 10 (TANJUG) Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic said Wednesday following talks with Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mate Granic in Belgrade that 'A high degree of agreement was reached on a series of issues.'

'After a long period, we are well on the way of starting to resolve the major part of our bilateral relations in a satisfactory manner,' Milutinovic told TANJUG.

Milutinovic said that it had been assessed that 'Serb-Croatian relations were crucial for the overall situation in the region' and that the talks were held keeping in mind the responsibility of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia regarding the full implementation of the Dayton Agreement.

'We also discussed the normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and Croatia on the basis of what was agreed in Dayton. Although we have not achieved the expected progress, we have taken note of a readiness to pursue joint endeavors in this regard so that solutions acceptable to both sides can be found especially for the most delicate issues,' he said.

'We believe that any selective or unilateral approach to the Dayton Agreement would be detrimental and involve unnecessary risks, i.e. it would make difficult the progress of the peace process,' Milutinovic said.

'A consistent, comprehensive and impartial implementation of all agreements is in the common interest of both countries, of the stabilization of the situation, of a full normalization of relations between neighbors and of joining the current integration process in Europe,' Milutinovic said.

A particular emphasis was 'placed on providing full protection of the rights of the Serb people in Croatia and preventing all forms of denying the civil and human rights of Serbs,' he said.

Readiness was expressed during the talks to continue the dialogue in order to pave the way for resolving a series of pending issues as a means for laying the bases for future cooperation, Milutinovic said.

This concerns above all the endeavors for the re-establishment of all forms of traffic and communications, reopening oil pipelines and reconnecting power networks, Milutinovic said.

Consultations With French Delegation Close

LD1001234296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2234 GMT 10 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Jan. 10 (TANJUG)—The delegations of Yugoslavia and France have agreed to conduct dialogue on relations and cooperation in consular matters more regularly to speed up the solving of problems.

The heads of the delegations said they discussed concrete questions.

The two sides set out a readiness to accelerate the solving of many difficulties that had arisen in the three-and-a-half years of international sanctions against Yugoslavia, which have afflicted not only the interests of Yugoslavia as a state, but many Yugoslavs who live in France, or pensioners who returned to Yugoslavia.

The two sides agreed that concrete issues in consular, legal and social matters should be examined in more detail and expert meetings held in Paris and Belgrade.

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By enforcing previously concluded accords and conventions, bilateral cooperation in the consular field would intensify, said the officials.

They assessed that mutual dialogue and bilateral encounters were conducive to Yugoslavia's and France's intentions to normalize and promote inter-state relations.

Yugoslav Ambassador Radomir Bogdanovic was received by the director of the Sector for Europe at the French Foreign Ministry and the two officials exchanged views on prospects for developing political, economic and cultural relations after the suspension of the sanctions and the signing of the Bosnian peace accord in Paris.

Serbia

Bosnian Serbs To Discuss Blockade With Milosevic

AU0801163396 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Jan 96 p 3

[BETA report: "Serb Republic Leadership To Visit Milosevic?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The leadership of the Bosnian Serbs is to meet Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade next week, BETA has found out from Serb sources. The representatives of the Pale authorities want to discuss with President Milosevic the lifting of the blockade on the Drina, and the reestablishment of economic and other ties after the completion of the deployment of IFOR.

The Bosnian Serb delegation members are not known, and nor is whether Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic intends to come to Belgrade. The Bosnian Serb leadership expects the blockade on the Drina to be lifted, and sources close to this leadership say that "certain positive signals" have been sent from Belgrade.

Democratic Party Urges Help for Sarajevo Serbs

LD0701214396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2035 GMT 7 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (SRNA)—The Democratic Party [DS] issued a statement today calling on the FRY Government and Serbian President Milosevic to launch a diplomatic initiative to secure local self-government and international protection for Serbs in Serb Sarajevo.

"Instead of launching a diplomatic initiative in the United Nations and EU in order to secure local self-government and international protection for Serbs in Serb Sarajevo, the federal government and President Milosevic are doing nothing to help their people," it is said in the statement issued by the DS information service.

The statement says that "support from Belgrade would be the best Christmas message to the entire Serb nation" and warns that "more than 100,000 people will become refugees if there is no aid and support for Sarajevo Serbs."

Resignations Over Right-Wing Ties

AU0901152396 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The membership of the Democratic Party [DS] is continuing to diminish. Today resignations were tendered by the following members of the DS Main and Executive Committee: Pavle Popovic, Aleksandar Andjelkovic Papak, Svetlana Knjazev Adamovic, Lejla Ruzdic Trifunovic, and Zivorad Panfilic, chairman of the DS Municipal Committee of Obrenovac.

The explanation for the resignations mentions the dissatisfaction with the single-mindedness that reigns in the DS; the desertion of democratic principles that the party adopted at inauguration and confirmed at both regular assemblies; the expulsion of the founder and former chairman Dragoljub Micunovic, and the repeated rejection of all the peace plans proposed by the international community. The explanation also mentions the alliance that the DS has made with extreme right-wing destructive forces.

Resignations were also tendered by members of the DS Municipal Committee of Zvezdara: Radoslav Mektarijevic, Nebojsa Zdravkovic, Mirjana Boskovic, and Dragan Novakovic.

Four-Party Opposition Alliance Chooses Officials

AU1101163896 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 96 p 24

[Article by S.N.A.: "Council of Democratic Alliance Formed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The Democratic Party [DS], the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], the Serbian Liberal Party [SLS], and the Congregational People's Party [SNS] have selected their representatives for the Council of the Democratic Alliance, the highest executive body of this alliance.

As NASA BORBA has found out, apart from the chairmen of the four parties in this alliance, Zoran Djindjic, Vojislav Kostunica, Nikola Milosevic, and Slobodan Rakitic, the Council will also consist of two more representatives of each party.

The DS will be represented by Miodrag Perisic and Vladimir Gajic, the DSS will be represented by Vladeta

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Jankovic and Mirko Petrovic, the SLS by Kosta Cavoski and Zika Bogdanovic, and the SNS by Mladen Markov and Aleksandar Taskovic.

The Council of the Democratic Alliance is expected to hold its first session soon, which will mark the beginning of the Alliance's active functioning.

Draskovic Repeats Call for Talks With Authorities

AU0901103796 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 96 p 4

[Article by B. Vicentijevic: "Milosevic Creating Para-Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Valjevo—There cannot be a more humane wish today than to overcome a long-standing policy of defeat and escape from poverty, homelessness, migration, single-mindedness, mafia, and lawlessness. With these words Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, addressed the people gathered on Gradski Square in Valjevo on [Orthodox] Christmas Eve, having previously brought a yule log, which he presented with the blessings of the local priests.

Speaking about the necessity for all-encompassing changes in Serbia, Draskovic said that "private property and democracy are the foundations of the new Serbia," which can only be accomplished if the authorities and the opposition reach an agreement on a common program of country and national revival. However, Draskovic added, the reality in Serbia is bleak and grim, devoid even of any hopes for betterment in the foreseeable future.

"After Dayton and Paris, Slobodan Milosevic has been driving his course. He wants to transplant the war that is dwindling in Bosnia and Croatia to Serbia, by starting a peculiar sort of a war with the opposition and everybody who does not think the way JUL [Yugoslav Left] and the SPS [the Socialist Party of Serbia] do, the SPO leader emphasized. Social, democratic, and property changes, without which we will not get a cent of the aid that is so badly needed for the recovery of our nearly comatose economy, are being obstructed. To prevent social revolt and peoples' discontent, which will soon spill onto the squares and streets, the authorities are planning to pilfer from and bleed even more mercilessly the Serbian farmer, who is feeding Serbia. They also plan to pilfer from private entrepreneurs whom the Serbian President in his New Year message called the gray economy and announced an attack on this bud of the only sound economy in Serbia. The police terror is mounting; it is estimated that there are nearly 300,000 policemen in Serbia. Milosevic is creating an internal army. It is not merely that he does not want to disband para-armies and mafia, he is creating his own para-army and mafia."

There have been enough lies, Vuk Draskovic emphasized. Topcider [the mint] is working again. Several tens of millions of new banknotes were printed before the New Year alone. This worthless money will go to pay workers, pensioners.... They chased the opposition out of the parliament and suspended television relays for which we fought on 9 March 1991. This 9 May, on Saturday, at noon, in the same place—Freedom Square in Belgrade—we shall gather again. Belgrade and Serbia are not their little JUL backyards and they will not tell us where we can gather. Our parliament is democratic because two-thirds of the electorate stand behind it; Theirs is a single-party one, atrophied, and parallel.

If they continue in this vein, we will also form a democratic parliament in the Federal Assembly opposite their atrophied assembly and atrophied government, said Draskovic, who, despite all this, and "to rescue Serbia from the mud," repeated his appeal to the SPS and President Milosevic that the authorities and the opposition sit behind the table to agree on "ways of saving the people from misfortune."

Montenegro

Opposition Leader on Talks With Croatia

LD0701133996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 7 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 December (SRNA)—The chairman of the People's Party of Montenegro, Novak Kilibarda, said last night that the scheduled talks between the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic in Belgrade must absolutely include the issues of Prevlaka and the return of Serb refugees to their homes.

"If the exodus of Krajina Serbs is not discussed in Belgrade next Wednesday—which was the biggest catastrophe in the recent history of the Balkans—then I truly do not know what else they could discuss," Kilibarda said in his statement for SRNA.

According to him, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot allow itself to deal solely with issues concerning transport, telephone links and trade. [Passage omitted]

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